The "Chronica Fratris Jordani A Giano"

BY

REV. EDWIN J. AUWEILER, O.F.M.

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of Letters of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION LIBRARY
2400 RIDGE ROAD
BERKELEY, CA 94709

WASHINGTON, D. C.
JUNE, 1917

277.308
C17

The "Chronica Fratris Jordani A Giano"

BY

REV. EDWIN J. AUWEILER, O.F.M.

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of Letters of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

WASHINGTON, D. C.
JUNE, 1917

NATIONAL CAPITAL PRESS, INC., WASHINGTON, D. C

CONTENTS

PAGE

1. Preface 5

2. History of the Chronicle 7

3. Life of Jordan of Giano 20

4. Preparation of the Latin Text of the Present Edition . . . 45

5. Apparatus Criticus 54

6. Bibliography 61

PREFACE.

The Chronicle of Friar Jordan of Giano needs no introduction to the student of Franciscan history and literature, nor does the offer of a new edition with an English translation stand in need of an apology. The earlier editions of Voigt, in "Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften," Leipzig, 1870, of the Analecta Franciscana, Quaracchi, 1885, are fragmentary and, besides, quite inaccessible to the general reader. The edition of Dr. Boehmer in the Collection d'Études et de Documents sur L'Histoire Religieuse et Littéraire du Moyen Âge is complete and a model of scientific accuracy. It shares, however, with the other editions the drawback of addressing itself exclusively to the scholar and student.

In the proposed edition an attempt will be made to combine the high standard of Boehmer's edition with greater usefulness for the general reader. It will comprise the Latin text and its first translation into English. A special call seems to exist for the latter, if only to complete the cycle of early Franciscan Literature in the vernacular.

That the Chronicle of Jordan amply repays study and perusal goes without saying. Though mainly a historical work, it is by no means without literary value. Many of its quaint and inimitable chapters might worthily adorn the best pages of the *Fioretti,* and even among the "Knights of St. Francis's Round Table" it would be difficult to find a more lovable and human character than the "little, swarthy man with the jocund heart," who speaks to us from the refreshing pages of this chronicle.

Every care has been employed to make the edition perfect. The *mare magnum.* of Franciscan litera-

ture—at once the delight and the despair of the student—has been carefully examined though, I must say, with disappointing results. This is owing to the unique character of the present Chronicle. Jordan is an authority who confers light upon others; little lustre can be shed upon his work by his contemporaries and successors.

The introduction to the forthcoming edition of the Latin text is submitted as a dissertation to the Faculty of Letters of the Catholic University of America. The encouragement given by this faculty to constructive editorial work on the part of graduate students, in preference to the usually unprofitable discussions of philological *quisquilia,* first directed my choice to the Chronica Fratris Jordani.

I gladly offer my grateful acknowledgments to the Librarian of the Library of Congress and his assistants, who so generously placed at my unstinted disposal most of the works indispensable to the completion of this study.

Washington, March 31, 1917.

HISTORY OF THE CHRONICLE OF JORDAN OF GIANO.

"Once upon a time when I was telling the brethren some stories about the coming of the first friars into Germany and about their lives and their deeds, the brethren were greatly edified and I have been urged by many, many a time, to write down what I had told them as also other events that I might be able to call to memory and the years of the Lord when the brethren were sent to Germany and during which this or that thing happened. And 'because it is like the sin of witchcraft to rebell: and like the crime of idolatry to refuse to obey' (I Kings, XV, 23), I resolved to gratify the devout wish of the brethren, mainly at the behest of Brother Baldwin of Brandenburg, who, of his own free will and also at the command of Brother Bartholomew, then minister of Saxony, offered himself to do the writing.

"It is then in this year of the Lord 1262, after the Chapter of Halberstadt, celebrated on the Sunday of Jubilate, that we remain in the place where the Chapter had convened, and, myself dictating and Brother Baldwin doing the writing, I endeavored to give the best possible satisfaction." (Prologue.)

In these words Jordan himself informs us of the occasion that gave rise to the writing of his chronicle, of the time and place where and when it was composed and of the method employed in its composition. At the same time he relieves us of all doubt about the original manuscript of his work: an autograph copy of it never existed. But are the extant manuscripts the original handiwork of Brother Baldwin of Brandenburg? They are not, as their description will show.

THE MANUSCRIPTS.

I. The Manuscript of Berlin = B.

This description follows the Introduction to the edition of Boehmer, who, in turn, adopted the description of the manuscript (B) given by Dr. Perlbach in *Neues Archiv für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde,* 6, pp. 606–612, and translated into French by P. Sabatier, *Speculum Perfectionis,* p. CLXXXVII.

1. "The manuscript Theol. Lat., quarto, 196 of the Royal Library of Berlin, forms a large volume consisting of 150 leaves of parchment 280 x 260 mm., solidly bound in boards covered with leather whose original whiteness has now turned quite black. On the back of the volume are two labels, one of white paper, bearing the following title, written in a hand of the XVIIth century: *Chronica Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci Scripta;* the other is of red paper bearing the present cipher, or bookmark: Ms. Theol. Lat. qu. 196. On the inside we find the old bookmark of the Archives of Königsberg: No. 689. The first leaf shows the following annotations: Ms. Theol. Lat. 196 (cipher of the Berlin Library), further, in a hand of the XIVth or XVth centuries: *XXVI. pars veteris legende s. Francisci et plura de multis sanctis fratribus et est fratrum minorum in thorun. Item miracula de indulgencia porciuncule. Item quomodo fratres intraverunt alemaniam, franciam, ungariam.* Below, by another hand of the XVth century: *pater XXIm.* (probably the ancient cipher of the volume when in the library of the Franciscans of Thorn). Then follows, another time, the title of the book, in a third hand of the XVth century: *pars veteris legende sancti Francisci et plura sanctis fratribus* (!), *etc.* Below this one reads: Acc. 10, 219 (register of accessions of the Berlin Library), then, by a hand of the XVIIth century: 92 (cancelled) and: *B.* 3. At the end of the page one finds,

as also on F. 150*b*, the stamps of the Archives of Königsberg and of the Library of Berlin.

2. The manuscript has no fly-leaves either at the beginning or at the end, but the text starts immediately, without title, on the reverse of F. 1 with the words: *Fac secundum exemplar*, and up to F. 131*b* it exhibits the famous compilation of Avignon which is also preserved for us in the manuscripts: Vatican, Lat. 4354, Liegnitz 12, and of the University of Lemberg 131.

3. From F. 131–142 we find several items concerning the Indulgence of the Portiuncula. At the end, beginning with F. 142 and ending with 150*b*, we have, without any title, the Chronicle of Jordan.

4. We need not analyze in detail the content of Fs. 1–142, for this work has been done twice in *Neues Archiv für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 6, p. 606–612, by Dr. Perlbach, and in *Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, II, 2, p. 786–788 by Dr. Valentin Rose. Our interest centers on the question where and when our manuscript was written. The first part, according to Dr. Rose, is from a French hand of the middle of the XIVth century. Folios 139–142 (top part), are added by a different hand, in very small characters but of the same type. The handwriting of Fos. 142–150*b* (the Chronicle of Jordan) is, indeed, of the same period of time but of different character, and the ink used has become quite faded. Another important remark must be made: The volume consists of fifteen quires of ten leaves each, but only quires I–XIII are numbered, the fifteenth quire has been inserted after the book had already been bound; as a matter of fact the covers of the binding spread a trifle.

5. What conclusion is to be drawn from all this? That the various parts of our manuscript volume are of various epochs and from various regions. Folios 1–142 (top part) were written in France as is evidenced, among other things, by the manner of spelling the German names.

Thus, on F. 123*b* the copyist makes *missia* of *Nussia; torgune* of *Torgowe* (*Torgau*); *Mandeburch* of *Magdeburg; kiris of Kyritz.* The Chronicle of Jordan, however (Fols. 142–150*b*), has been added, most probably, in Germany and by a German writer which, again, is proven by the orthography of German names. The German copyist evidently wished to utilize two leaves of the volume that had remained blanks and for this purpose he inserted between them a few more leaves of parchment without taking into account that the volume would thus grow too thick for the binding. Even thus he had only ten leaves at his disposal and it was impossible to add another quire without breaking the binding. It is the more striking that the text concludes with the last line on Fo. 150*b* quite close to the cover and without any of the signs employed to denote the end. This quite external evidence is sufficient to give rise to the suspicion that our manuscript cannot well be more than a considerable fragment, rather than the complete text of the *Libellus Jordani.*

6. So far Dr. Boehmer (Intr. I–XIV). His argumentation that the writer cannot have been a member of the friary of Thorn seems rather unconvincing. The fact that we find only two remarks made by these friars of Thorn (on the margin of Fo. 124), surely does not prove anything for or against the origin of the chronicle of Jordan (on Fos. 142–150*b*) in the community of Thorn. Marginal notes have always been frowned upon by book-lovers; the friars are no exception. We must content ourselves with the statement that the manuscript of the Chronicle of Jordan was added towards the end of the XIVth century by a German copyist, but we cannot trace the exact history of the fragment. (Boehmer, p. XV.)

7. "But is the text of the manuscript, such as it is, an exact and complete reproduction of the original? It is not. It takes but a cursory reading of the folios 142–150*b* to perceive that the copyist worked quite hastily. He had the intention of marking the beginnings of every paragraph by ornamented initials; but, time being wanting,

he left a blank for these initials. Moreover, he has frequently written one word a-top of another and a few times he has skipped entire lines of the original." (Boehmer, p. XV.)

8. We need but inspect the critical apparatus of Boehmer to convince ourselves that the writer of codex B worked indeed rather hastily. The spelling of Italian names is incorrect; we find him using such names as *Palmero* for *Palmerio, t'visio* instead of *Tervisio, Thamerino* for *Chamerino, tarpinis* for *Carpinis* (the Analecta edition, however, remarks: In codice plerumque litterae *t* et *c* eodem modo scribuntur! P. 13, n. 2). We find *Buxnam for Brixnam, h'polim* for *Herbipolim, normatiam* for *Wormatiam.* Of other blunders there is a-plenty. Thus the codex (B) has, in Chap. 32, *uiri spiritus* for *jurisperitus! Albertus insanus* for *Albertus Pisanus!* In Chap. 37 we find *valle* for *valde,* in Chap. 49 *a Deo* for *adeo,* in Chap. 53 *plthra* for *pulchra,* in Chap. 55 *voluntatem* for *novitatem,* in Chap. 58 *perfectus* for *profectus,* in Chap. 59 *stupendus* for *stupidus,* etc. Other mistakes are mentioned and corrected in the chapters on the preparation of the Latin text and in the critical apparatus of the present edition. The rather accidental origin (crf. § 5, above) of the manuscript, however, explains, and, to some extent, excuses these "lapsus pennae." None of them are of vital importance, and none of them are beyond the reach of easy detection and correction.

The further remarks of Boehmer repeat the arguments for the incompleteness of the codex B, and need no particular mention, since all doubt about this question has been settled by the discovery of codex K.

The Manuscript of Karlsruhe = K.

This MS. is described in an article preceding the new edition of the same by Fr. Lemmens, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* Vol. 3, 1910, pp. 45–55; also in Boehmer's Introduction to the Chronicle, pp. XVI–XIX.

"The second part (of the Chronicle of Jordan) was at last discovered in the Landesbibliothek of Karlsruhe, codex 357. It consists of only six folios (205 by 142 mm., Boehmer, p. XVI), the first four of which exhibit our chronicle, while the last two bring a Catalogue of the Saints of the Order. On the first folio and on part of the second we find the fragment of the Chronica Jordani, beginning with the words, *"et uno socio pro ministro postulando"* of Chap. 58 and continuing with the remaining chapters on folios two and three, ending on folio four with the words, "In Lipzk electus fuit fr. Ulricus de Indagine et celebravit capitula," etc. These folios are the fragment of a manuscript written in the XVth century, the first part of which has not yet been discovered. In the year 1786 our fragment was purchased by the librarian of the "Landesbibliothek" from the books left by the noted writer, Julius von der Hardt, of Helmstadt, and it has been re-bound but recently." (*Arch. Franc. Hist.*, 3, p. 48.)

The fragment was first published by Fr. Leonard Lemmens, O. F. M., in the *Jahrbuch der Sächsischen Franziskanerprovinz vom heiligen Kreuz,* Düsseldorf, 1906. It was added to the edition of Boehmer, 1908, and again published in the volume of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* from which we have been quoting. The slight differences between this latter edition and Boehmer's are noted in the critical apparatus of the present edition. The importance of the Karlsruhe fragment does not consist in the new material offered for a collation of its text with that of the codex B; for K brings only Chaps. 58–62 of the Berlin manuscript. The fragment K is priceless, however, as the only source, so far available, for the continuation and close of the Chronicle of Jordan, which breaks off so suddenly in the Berlin fragment. The discovery of K gave us for the first time the complete text of Jordan's work.

Indirect Sources of the Text.

The Chronicle of Jordan was copied many times, and has been the source from which all subsequent historians of the Order drew their material for the chapters on the development of the German province. Thus, fortunately, a number of witnessed can be adduced from whose writings additional light falls on the pages of Jordan. These witnesses are:

1. Fr. John Komerowski, a Polish friar, who compiled at the beginning of the XVIth century two historical works, one of which is entitled, *Tractatus cronice fratrum Minorum observancie a tempore Constanciensis concilii et specialiter de Provincia Polaniae per fratrem Johannem de Komerowo ejusdem ordinis minimum.* It has been published by Heinrich Zeisberg in the Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte, Vol. 49, pp. 314–425.

The second work might be called an extension of the former, and is named *Breve Memoriale ordinis fratrum Minorum rectorum ipsius ordinis et contingentium in ordine, etc., etc.* It was published by Xaveri Liske and Antoni Lorkiewicz in Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Vol. 5, Lemberg, 1888. Both editions have been used in the preparation of the Latin text of this edition.

2. Fr. Nicolaus Glassberger, a German, composed, about 1508, a lengthy chronicle which gives detailed information about the origin of the German province of the Franciscan Order. For this Glassberger was indebted to our Jordan, whose chronicle, however, is frequently quoted as *scripta Fratis Balduini de Brunswick.* Many passages are copied verbatim; in others Glassberger alters the text to suit his own conceptions of Latin style. I have used the edition of the *Analecta Franciscana,* Vol. 2, Quaracchi, 1887.

3. The other historians of the Order who have used, either directly or indirectly, the Chronicle of Jordan are Fr. Fransiscus Gonzaga, *De Origine Seraphicae Religi-*

onis; Fr. Lucas Wadding, in the *Annales Minorum;* Fr. Fortunatus Hueber, *Menologium Magnum;* the author of the *Chronica Anonyma;* Fr. Benedetto Mazzara, *Leggendario Francescano,* and others of minor importance. Glassberger seems to have had a copy before him that was enriched by additions of Baldwin of Brandenburg (Brunswick); Gonzaga's text gives certain indications of being derived from Jordan through the Chronicle of Glassberger. Whether Wadding had before him the original Chronicle as written by Baldwin of Brandenburg or some other redaction of it is a moot question that will hardly ever be decided satisfactorily. Hueber and Mazzara have quoted from Wadding. It would be beyond the scope of this introduction to follow Boehmer in his lengthy and laborious investigation of the problem arising from the question what particular text was used by these various historians. His labors do not result in any definite and unquestionable conclusions. All that we can gather from them is the fact that the texts employed were not of uniform character, and this is easily explained by the words of Jordan in his prologue: "If I have committed errors in dating various events—and I am now old and a fallible man—I crave forgiveness from the reader, admonishing him to correct and set right my statements wherever I be found mistaken. Likewise anyone who desires to embellish the style of the writer and the roughness of my dictation has my best wishes. For it is sufficient to have given the material to more competent writers and such as are experts in the art of composition." There can be no doubt that Jordan's brethren, in the course of time, availed themselves of the privilege so artlessly granted by our chronicler, and that is the very simple reason that we find additions and details in some of Jordan's successors that are omitted in others. Nor is there any need of learned discourses to explain the attribution by some of the chronicle to Brother Baldwin of Brandenburg (Brunswick). It is certain that no inde-

pendent chronicle of Baldwin of Brandenburg ever existed; later writers have simply preferred to name the chronicle after the writer rather than after the dictator of the same. The variant "Brunswick" for "Brandenburg" is merely the result of the prevailing carelessness in spelling German names, especially on the part of Italian, but also on that of other authors, German as well as non-German.

THE EDITIONS.

I. The Edition of George Voigt.

The first edition of Jordan's Chronicle appeared in the fifth volume of "Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften," Leipzig, 1870, under the title "Die Denkwürdigkeiten (1207–1238) des Minoriten Jordanus von Giano." It was prepared, not from any of the existing manuscripts but from a copy of the Berlin codex, which copy was made in the Archives of Königsberg by order of Voigt's father, the "célèbre Jean Voigt, professeur d'historie et archiviste à Königsberg" (Boehmer, Introd. 1). A careful study of George Voigt's edition will convince any reader that Sabatier was quite correct in his statement, "Une simple comparaison de l'édition (George Voigt's) avec notre manuscript (Codex B) prouve de la façon la plus claire qu'il est la source de la copie de Voigt (father). Elle montre aussi que la copie de Voigt était excellente, car on n'y trouve que de rares fautes de lecture à corriger, tandis que presque toutes les erreurs que l'éditeur fait disparaître de son modèle se retrouvent dans notre manuscript." (*Spec. Perf.*, Introd., p. CXCI.)

Voigt's introductory study is an excellent piece of work, and even now indispensable to the student of Franciscan Litterature. Boehmer's remarks: "Le texte est précédé d'une longue et savante étude: celle-ci renferme des observations excellentes, mais elle montre aussi que la perspicacité ne saurais préservér des erreurs. Le goût des combinaisons ingénieuses peut égarer même des chercheurs prudents, et les amener á prendre pour des résultats solides des hypothèses hasardées" (Introd. 1, p. X), may be justified, but it is rather ungenerous. Voigt did not have the advantage of utilizing the immense amount of critical work that has been done since his times, and of which Boehmer was the beneficiary; he was

a pioneer, and his pioneer work he did with admirable thoroughness and indefatigable industry. If he has indulged in "combinaisons ingénieuses," and if he has carried them occasionally too far, he has, on the other hand, given the most valuable indications and directions for his successors—directions that none has followed more conscientiously than Boehmer. That Voigt, with the scant material available to him, could anticipate so much that has since been securely established is to his permanent credit, and we may well pardon him his blunders.

Less allowance ought to be made for the dense and bitter prejudice that mars his observations on St. Francis himself, his first biographers, and the later historians of the Order. Voigt might well have served as a model for such an uncompromising hypercritic as Nino Tamassia in his famous "St. Francis of Assisi and His Legend" (Translation by Lonsdale Ragg. London: T. Fisher Unwin, MCMX). To judge by Voigt, the biographies of St. Francis are a web of lies and superstitious inventions, the work of a band of accomplished swindlers and falsifiers of the truth. Voigt is a warm admirer of our Jordan, but less on account of his simple good faith and piety than because of his alleged and altogether fictitious scepticism regarding the holiness of St. Francis and the reality of his wonderful deeds. It would be idle to follow Voigt in his vagaries—they have long since been discounted and are gladly ignored by a less bigoted but more sympathetic time. It was mainly with a view of exposing and correcting the attacks of Voigt that the second edition of the Berlin fragment of our Chronicle was prepared and published by the Fathers of the College of St. Bonaventure, Quaracchi, 1885.

II. The Edition of Quaracchi.

This edition is based on the manuscript of Berlin which had since been discovered, according to Sabatier, l. c., by Dr. Holder-Egger, the famous collaborator of the *Monu-*

menta Germaniae Historica (*Spec. Perf.*, Intr., p. CXCII). Fr. Victor Albers, O.F.M., collated the codex B with Voigt's edition, and the result of his work, in which he was assisted by Fr. Henry Denifle, O.P., was published in the first volume of the Analecta Franciscana, Quaracchi, 1885.

Boehmer justly blames this edition for lack of scientific accuracy and for the absence of critical acumen. Notwithstanding these deficiencies, the Quaracchi edition is a notable achievement, and deserves honorable mention in these introductory remarks. Some of its readings are better than those introduced into the edition of Boehmer, and I have adopted them in my own. A full account of these is given in the chapter on the preparation of the present text and in the critical apparatus. The preface of the Quaracchi edition is a masterly refutation of Voigt's exaggerations and an illuminating essay on historiography in the Franciscan Order.

III. The Edition of Henry Boehmer.

The two preceding editions have been completely superseded by the third, prepared with every imaginable care by Dr. Heinrich Boehmer, then professor of the University of Bonn, and published in Vol. VI of the "Collection d'Études et de Documents sur l'Historie Religieuse et Littéraire du Moyen Âge," Paris, Librairie Fischbacher, 1908.

An exhaustive introduction precedes the text of the Chronica; it is copiously annotated, and brings for the first time an index, "si non copiosus, saltem sufficiens" (Fr. Bihl, *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, 2, p. 648).

The merits and occasional demerits of this edition will be discussed in the following paragraphs of this introduction, and their mention need not be anticipated here.

To sum up the results of this chapter:

1. The original of the Chronica Jordani, written by

Brother Baldwin of Brandenburg after the dictation of Jordan, no longer exists.

2. The two codices B and K are copies of the same, made at a much later date than that of the composition of the chronicle.

3. Other copies, enlarged by various unknown successors of Jordan, existed, and from these the extracts of Komerowski, Glassberger, Gonzaga, and Wadding are derived.

4. The first edition of Voigt was made from a transcript made by his father from the Berlin manuscript.

5. The latter was first published in the *Analecta Franciscana,* while the edition of Boehmer brings the entire chronicle as exhibited in both codex B and K, with numerous additions and corrections, more or less felicitous, resulting from a careful collation with the corresponding passages of the above-mentioned historians.

6. The present edition will follow the lines of Boehmer's standard work.

THE LIFE OF JORDAN.

Apart from the Chronicle of Jordan, there is only one other source for the biography of this author, viz., the three letters on the invasion of the Tartars preserved in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew of Paris (M. G. SS. T. XXVIII, p. 207 ss.). The *Catalogus Sanctorum Fratrum Minorum,* written about 1335 and published by Father Leonard Lemmens in *Fragmenta Franciscana* (Rome, 1903), p. 38, merely mentions his name: *In Provincia Saxoniae Fr. Jordanus de Italia.* The *Chronica XXIV Generalium* (Ed. *Anal. Franc.,* T. III, p. 237) mentions him among the saintly members of the Saxon province: *In Madeburch frater —— Jordanus de Italia.* The narratives in Gonzaga (*De Origine,* Ed. 1587, p. 661 ss.), who, according to Boehmer, drew from Glassberger (see Boehmer's edition, Introd., p. LII); Glassberger, *Anal. Franc.,* T. II, p. 19 ss.; Hueber, (*Menologium,* columns 1110 and 2100); Wadding, *Annales* T. I, p. 247; Mazzara (*Leggendario Francescano,* T. XI, p. 43, Ed. 1722), are mere transcripts and extracts from Jordan's Chronicle, and tell us absolutely nothing that is not contained therein.

Jordan is all too reticent about himself, and we cannot but regret that he has naught of the vanity so naively displayed by his famous confrère, Fr. Salimbene de Adam. He tells nothing about the date of his birth, his family, and the important events of his life, except incidentally and in as far as they have any bearing on the history of his mission to Germany and his subsequent administration of various important offices in the Order. Thus we are informed at the very outset of Jordan's Chronicle that in 1262, when he dictated his work to Fr. Baldwin of Brandenburg, he was "jam senex et debilis" (Prologus, p. 2, l. 5, Ed. Boehmer). At the time of the famous Chapter of 1221 he was a deacon, which allows us to place the

date of his birth in about 1195, or within a few years sooner or later. According to his own statement, he was born in Giano, a small village in the valley of Spoleto. Even our distinguished chronicler has not been able to lift it above its undisturbed obscurity, and it is not mentioned in the *Umbria Francescana* of P. Nicola Cavanna. The excellent automobile map of Giovanni Marieni assigns to it the rank of a "Capoluogo di Commune," but shows it at a respectful distance from any railroad or other good road. We barely find it mentioned in the history or legendary lore of the Franciscan movement; the *Provinciale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (edition of Eubel, Quaracchi, 1892) of 1343 tells us that the friars had a small residence there.

Whether or not Jordan received his clerical education in the Franciscan Order is a matter of uncertainty. All we know is that he was in major orders in 1221. According to Glassberger, he was received into the Order by St. Francis himself: "*Et quia fratri Jordano humanum aliquid acciderat—puta quia beatissimum patrem, qui et ipsum ad ordinem receperat, in mundo viventem hominem infirmum viderat et noverat, etc.,*" an assertion which there is no reason to doubt. In this case his entrance into the order must have taken place before the journey of the Saint into the Orient, about which Jordan gives us much detailed information in Chapters 10–15 of his Chronicle. Boehmer argues from the fact that he mentions his ordination to the priesthood (Chap. 30) that Jordan would doubtlessly have informed us of his ordination to the deaconship if this had taken place in the Order, which reasoning seems to carry little weight when we consider the habitual reticence of Jordan about the private events of his life. In Chapter 18 we are told that he attributes the absence of personal acquaintance with the Martyr-Friars of Marocco to his own neglect of the opportunities of making it. He must have belonged, then, to the Order at the time of their mission in 1218 or

1219, so that we may place the time of his reception no later than 1217 or 1218.

We leave the realm of conjecture in 1221, at the so-called Chapter of Mats, in which Jordan took part: *"Tale enim capitulum tam in fratrum multitudine quam ministrantium sollemnitate non vidi in ordine"* (Chap. 16). This chapter was to determine the future career of our author. Without any desire on his part—on the contrary, entirely against his inclination—he was assigned to the much-feared expedition into Germany. How this came about he tells us himself in his own inimitable way. Incidentally, we are informed that he had been assigned to another province, and that the friars of the same, knowing his delicate health, endeavored to retain him in Italy. All the more admirable, therefore, is his heroic obedience, and we may well believe Glassberger, who tells us in his chronicle: *"Fuit idem frater Jordanus . . . vir magnae obedientiae qui in fratre minore nulla signa sanctitatis sine obedientia venerabatur aut alicujus momenti reputabat"* (*Chronica, Anal. Franc.*, T. II, p. 54). Far more significant than the amusing turn of affairs that brought about Jordan's appointment for the German mission is the passage: *"Frater autem Caesarius ipsum secum ducere modis omnibus affectabat"* (Chap. 18). The sterling qualities of the man were apparently well known to his superiors, and especially to Fr. Caesarius of Speyer, who seems to have been his personal friend and who was held in highest esteem by our Jordan. Under the leadership of this saintly man, the little band of volunteers assembled in various houses of the Order in Lombardy and awaited the commands of this their new minister, who, as Jordan tells us, left St. Francis with great reluctance and obtained his permission to abide with him for three more months in the beloved valley of Spoleto. When the time at last had arrived for starting on the difficult journey, Caesarius called together Brothers John of Plano Carpinis, Barnabus, the German, and

some others and sent them ahead to Trent, in order to provide a good reception for the other friars, who followed in small parties of two or three.

All arrived before the Feast of St. Michael, September 29, 1221, and were kindly received and well treated by Bishop Adelbert of Ravenstein (1219–1223). Some of the friars remained in Trent; the others continued the journey and arrived at Bozen, still in the Diocese of Trent, where the Bishop entertained them and gave them the faculty to preach in his diocese. Thence the journey proceeded to Brixen, where again they found and enjoyed the good graces of Bishop Berthold, of that place. After leaving Brixen, they entered the mountainous regions and endured many hardships. At first they came to Sterzing(en), where they met with but very cold treatment, and had to continue their weary way hungry and unrefreshed. The next station mentioned by Jordan is Mittenwalde, and this is one of the few instances where his memory deceives him. Greiderer detected this error, and corrects him in his "Germania Franciscana" (Oeniponte, 1777).[1]

The friars spent the night, then, either in Lueg or Gries, according to Greiderer; Boehmer mentions Gossensass, Gries or St. Jodocus, villages situated between Sterzing and Matrey. However this may be—and it certainly is of minor importance—the friars resumed their journey the next morning, and with great difficulty and

---

[1] *His non obstantibus Chronicon istud (Jordani) deficit circa stationem nocturnam a fratribus. Brixina moventibus, prima die fixam; gratis enim asserit illos circa meridiem Sterzingam tetigisse et castra nocturna in loco Mittewald metatos esse. Ratio: Locus Mittewald Brixinam inter et Sterzingam sedet quattuor horis ab ea, et tribus ab illa amotus: ergo a fratribus, nisi illis iter cancrinum imputaveris ut diversorium nocturnum attactus non fuit. Fratres inter Sterzingam et Steinachium in loco forte Brenner, Lueg sive Griess noctem transegisse facilius credam. Unde nec opinioni Hueberi subscribo qui eosdem Sterzingae pernoctasse affirmat nam prolixum iter prima die confectum, aliasque circumstantias a Chronico MS. tactas minime salvat. Tum Minoritae quorum auctoritati chronicon innititur facillime potuerunt oblivisci nominis loci in quo de nocte haeserunt cum ut plurimum alienigenae extiterint*" (p. 15).

suffering they reached Matrey, now Deutsch-Matrei on the Brenner. Here at last they found some charitable souls who provided them with bread, and, as Jordan tells us, rather ruefully, "*quia tempus raparum tunc erat, mendicando rapas quod pani deerat, rapis suppleverunt*" (Chap. 21).

Being thus "rather filled than fed" (*magis referti quam refecti*), they proceeded, passing through many villages and castles and monasteries until they reached Augsburg. Boehmer acknowledges the correctness of this itinerary. According to his account, they followed the ancient Roman road from Wilten-Innsbruck to Augsburg in preference to the Brenner road. They turned towards the west, passing Zirl, and then in a northerly direction they traversed the mountain pass of Scharnitz, whence they arrived successively at Mittenwald, Partenkirchen, Schoengau, and finally Augsburg. Bishop Siegfried III of Rechberg, who ruled here at that time, gave them a most affectionate welcome. So favorable was the impression they made on the Bishop that he embraced each one singly, while his nephew, the chancellor of his diocese, even placed his residence at their disposal. The same cordiality was shown to them by clergy and people of the city.

On the Feast of St. Gall, October 16, 1221, Brother Caesarius of Speyer celebrated the first chapter in Germany. At this chapter Jordan was sent, with Brothers Constantine and Abraham, to Salzburg, where, according to Greiderer (p. 15), they found high favor with the Archbishop. Jordan remained here until the Chapter of Worms, 1222. The circumstances leading to his recall are too typically "Jordanesque" to be passed over. Brother Caesarius had sent two of the brothers on a visit to Salzburg in order to notify the little community under Jordan that "if they cared to, they might come to him." Now, the brothers in Salzburg, who were entirely devoted to holy obedience, were sorely puzzled about the wording

of his order, namely, that "they might come if they cared to come." After consulting one another, they decided: "Let us go and find out why, inasmuch as we want nothing but what he wants himself, he did write to us after this manner." And thus, in order to discover whether they should leave Salzburg, they traveled all the way from Salzburg to Worms! The exceedingly diverting adventures of their journey one must read in Chapter 27. In spite of Jordan's reticence on the point, there can be little doubt that the wide-awake friar who feared that the peasants' "*God berad*" would kill them that very day and who met the threatened danger by his "useful deception" was our Jordan himself. The Feast of Pentecost, May 22, 1222, they spent in a certain village, where they attended the Holy Sacrifice and edified the villagers to such an extent that "they knelt down before the friars and honored their very footprints." Traveling through Wuerzburg, Mainz and Worms, the friars came to Speyer, and there they found Brother Caesarius. Having told him their grievance, "why he had written to them in such manner," he excused himself and explained his intention, and thus he satisfied their scruples.

We do not hear that the residence in Salzburg was continued. Greiderer mentions it among the places accepted by the friars, but "*per modum sedis non stabilis;*" that is, merely as a station or hospice (p. 22). Certain it is that Jordan was not sent back, since Brother Caesarius was greatly in need of priests for his growing community, which need was so pressing that a single priest, a novice at that, had to travel between Worms and Speyer in order to afford the brothers the consolation of attending Mass on the high feast days and to hear their confessions. In the same year, therefore, Caesarius had three of his companions—Brother Palmerius de Monte Gargano, Abraham, the Hungarian, and Andrew, the German, who before his entrance into the Order had been called Hartmodus—promoted to the Priesthood, and in the following

year, March 8, 1223, our Jordan also was ordained a priest. According to Mazzara (XI, 44), he said his first Mass at Speyer. For an entire summer he was almost the only priest in the communities at Worms, Mainz, and Speyer. Brother Thomas of Celano having been appointed custos of the residences in Mainz, Worms, Cologne, and Speyer, Jordan passed under the immediate jurisdiction of this famous friar, also a warm friend of the newly ordained. In the same year Brother Caesarius of Speyer, overcome by yearning to be with St. Francis and his companions in the valley of Spoleto, set out for Italy with Brother Simon and some other companions, leaving Brother Thomas of Celano as his vicar. At the Chapter of Portiuncula he obtained from St. Francis or Brother Elias a discharge from his duties as minister of Germany. His administration had lasted for two years, and he had faithfully performed the task that had been assigned to him. The Order was now firmly established in Germany. Caesarius's successor was Brother Albert of Pisa, who immediately upon his arrival in his new place of activity convened a chapter at Speyer. This was celebrated on the Feast of Our Lady's Nativity, and was attended by the first friars as well as the newcomers that had been brought by Albert from Italy. We find our Jordan as guardian of Speyer, and he had the honor of celebrating the solemn High Mass of the chapter. Among the ordinances of the same was a new division of the mission of Germany into the custodies of Franconia under Brother Martius, Bavaria and Suabia under Brother Angelus of Worms, Alsace under Brother James, and Saxony under Brother John of Plano Carpinis. Jordan seems to have been appointed guardian in Mainz, for we find him in this office in 1224, when he was sent by Brother Albert to Thuringia in order to establish houses of the friars in that region.

With seven companions, he set out on this new mission October 27, and arrived at Erfurt on St. Martin's day,

November 11, 1224. As it was winter and the time unfavorable for building, the friars were temporarily given into the care of the priest who ministered to the lepers outside the city walls until the citizens of Erfurt would find better accommodation for them. The companions of Jordan in this new field of labor were Brother Herrmann of Weissensee, already a priest, Conrad of Wuerzburg, a novice in subdeacon's order, Henry of Wuerzburg, also a novice and subdeacon, and Arnold, a novice in minor orders. Of lay brothers there were Henry of Cologne, Gernot of Worms, Conrad of Suabia, and, subsequently, John of Cologne and Henry of Hildesheim.

In 1225 Jordan sent the lay brothers to various places of Thuringia in order to sound the disposition of the inhabitants concerning new establishments among them. Brother Herrmann of Weissensee, the priest, followed them in their mission. Herrmann had been chaplain of the house of the knights of the Teutonic Order in Eisenach before he joined the Friars Minor, and his entry into this humble community did much to increase the favorable impression the friars had made on the citizens of that place. Wherever he preached the word of God the entire city flocked together to hear him. Some difficulties arising on this account with the local clergy, he invited Brother Jordan to Eisenach, and under Jordan's direction everything was settled satisfactorily. Other houses were founded or accepted in Gotha, Erfurt, Nordhausen in Saxony and in Mühlhausen of the same country.

In the same year, 1225, Brother Albert sent Brother Nicholas, a native of the Rhineland, to Jordan as adviser and companion. Boehmer places this incident within the year 1231, but does so obviously through an oversight caused by a digression made in the narrative by Jordan, who, in the preceding chapter (46), mentions the return of the friars to Mühlhausen, which happened in 1231, after a temporary abandonment of this foundation. Jordan sent Nicolaus to Erfurt, and seems to have been em-

barrassed to no slight degree by the presence of this good friar, who was a man of such profound humility and holy simplicity *ut* (*Jordanus*) *ipsum ferre vix posset et infra sex hebdomadas venire Erfordiam non auderet!* (Chap. 47). In the meantime, Brother James, custos of Saxony, died at Magdeburg, and the friars applied for a successor to Brother Albert of Pisa, Minister-Provincial of Germany. The latter appointed the aforesaid Nicholas, and, well knowing his profound humility, he dared not send him the letters of obedience, but decided to approach him in person. Coming to Erfurt, he called upon Jordan, and it was evidently at the latter's advice that he employed a method that could not well have been devised by any but the fertile brain of our "little man with the playful heart." Having summoned Brother Nicholas, he communicated his intentions to him, whereupon Nicholas forthwith began to plead his ignorance of business and his lack of every qualification that makes a master or prelate. Brother Albert pounced upon this expression, and, feigning to be highly incensed, he retorted: "And so you do not know how to be a master! Is this the way you look upon us who hold office within the Order? Immediately confess your guilt for having called the offices of the Order masterships and prelatures, when, as a matter of fact, they are burdens and servantships!" And when poor Brother Nicholas had humbly confessed his fault, Brother Albert, as a penance, imposed upon him the office of custos of Saxony! This office he retained until 1227, when Albert was called to the General Chapter convened after the death of St. Francis. Before his departure, he held a chapter of the entire province of Germany at Mainz, and at this chapter Brother Nicholas was appointed Vicar-Provincial during Albert's absence. Jordan continued as custos of Thuringia.

The events during the years 1227–1230 are highly complicated and even more involved is their narration in Chapters 51–61, so that we have to reduce it to some such

order as will enable us to trace the various events of Jordan's life until 1231.

Brother Albert of Pisa ceased to be minister of Germany at the General Chapter of 1227, and was succeeded by Brother Simon of England, who had been custos of Normandy and was a "great scholastic and theologian" (Chap. 52). He held office till 1228, when he was appointed by the new General, John Parenti, lector of theology for the German Province, of which John of Plano Carpinis then became minister. Now, in 1229 Brother John of England had been sent as first Visitor to the German Province. When John of Plano Carpinis departed for the General Chapter of 1230 he instituted this Brother John of England as his vicar *ad interim*. In that Chapter, John of Plano Carpinis was absolved from the ministership of Germany and was transferred in the same capacity to the Province of Spain. Brother Simon of England, then lector of theology, was reappointed to the Provincialate, but died at Magdeburg June 14, 1230, before the letters of obedience reached him. The German Province was therefore without a real superior. Hence a chapter was convened at Worms, and our Jordan was delegated to proceed to Italy to ask the General, John Parenti, for the appointment of a new minister. John of England, who had been left as Vicar-Provincial by John of Plano Carpinis, seems to have relinquished office for reasons not mentioned in the Chronicle. Perhaps he had left immediately upon receiving notice of Brother Simon's appointment, he (John) being under the impression that his vicarship had expired therewith. At all events, we find him in Paris at the time of his institution as minister of Germany.

Jordan, having entrusted his custody of Thuringia to the custos of Saxony, set out for Italy with letters of obedience from Brother Otto, minister of the Rhine. Following the advice of Jordan, the General appointed John of England, who still belonged to the Province of France,

as Minister-Provincial of Germany, and at the same time Jordan obtained the assignment of Brother Bartholomew of England to the Lectorate of Theology in Germany, which office had become vacant on the death of Brother Simon.

On his return journey Jordan visited at Assisi his friend Thomas of Celano, from whom he received some relics of the holy founder, St. Francis. According to Glassberger (*Anal. Franc.*, p. 53), they consisted of some of the hair and particles of clothing of the Saint. Jordan's entry into the custody of Thuringia brought him the greatest triumph of his life, which he, in his humility, attributes entirely to the respect for the Saint whose relics he carried with him. We are permitted, however, to differ in this opinion from our chronicler, and will not be mistaken when we credit some of the extraordinary honors he received at his entrance into the friary at Eisenach to the joy of the brethren at the safe arrival of the beloved and lovable superior.

No other arrangements having been made after the departure of Brother John of England for Paris, Jordan seems to have taken charge of the German Province; for it is he who, after the flattering reception at Eisenach, visited the custody of Saxony and chose Brothers John of Penna and Adeodatus to betake themselves to Paris and serve as honorable escort to Brothers John of England and his companion, Bartholomew, the new lector.

After the arrival of the new Provincial, John of England, our chronicler reassumed his duties as custos of Thuringia, and doubtless took strenuous part in the events that culminated in the appeal of the Order against the maladministration of the General, Elias, successor to John Parenti.

We enter now upon the stormiest period in Franciscan history—the times of Brother Elias. It is for this period that Jordan furnishes most valuable information. According to his chronicle, the ambition of Elias, laudable in

itself, to finish as speedily as possible the magnificent Church of St. Francis at Assisi and the extortionate demands upon the brethren that resulted therefrom were the immediate cause of general dissatisfaction. Elias held not a single General Chapter for the space of seven years; he issued many decrees detrimental to the welfare of the Order and unmercifully banished into remote provinces the brethren who resisted him. Under the leadership of Alexander of Hales and John of Rupella (always according to Jordan), the friars decided upon a common course of action. Matters were brought to a crisis when Elias, in 1237, appointed a number of visitors whom he selected for this delicate task, not in accordance with their fitness but on the strength of their blind submission to his despotic rule.

In 1238 the friars of the Saxon (German) Province appealed to the General, Elias, against the visitor who had been imposed upon them. As their appeal naturally fell on deaf ears, they commissioned Brother Jordan to bring their grievances directly to the highest ecclesiastical authority, the Pope himself. Jordan gives us a most amusing description of his interview with the Holy Father and the absolutely original diplomacy he employed in order to gain a hearing from Gregory IX (Chap. 63). We can hardly blame Sabatier when he says in *Vie de S. François d'Assise* (18th Edition, 1896, XCVI): *"En lisant sa chronique, on croit entendre les souvenirs d'un vieux soldat, où certains détails sans valeur sont saisis et présentés avec une puissance de relief extraordinaire, où le narrateur ne sait pas résister à la tentation de se mettre en scéne, au risque parfois d'embellir un peu la sèche réalité,"* and in the footnote: *"Il ne me semble pas qu'on puisse regarder comme rigoureusement exacte la relation de l'entrevue de Grégoire IX et de Jourdain"* (Jord., 63). The incident would indeed be almost incredible with anyone except our Jordan, but no one could read his chronicle up to Chapter 63 without gaining the convic-

tion of the simple good faith and absolute truthfulness of the narrator. At any rate, Jordan gained his point and opened the way to a speedy presentation of the appeal made by the friars who had assembled in Rome. The result of the hearings before the Holy Father was the order to the friars to return to their provinces and appoint there the members of a special commission of delegates, who were to be taken from among those most interested in the needed reforms, and who were to assemble four weeks in advance of the General Chapter to be held in 1239. This commission of twenty *fratres maturi et discreti* met in Rome at the time indicated. Whether Jordan belonged to it or not is not quite clear. He makes no special mention of the fact, and I, for one, see in his silence merely the natural omission of a statement that is, from the whole context, to be taken for granted. It would have been passing strange if the man best acquainted with the burning questions of the time and who had served as such an able delegate to the Curia before had been overlooked in their final settlement. The ordinances passed in this General Chapter are briefly summed up in Chapters 65–68. One of them was a new division of the provinces, and it is very probable that it was this new division that caused a reorganization of the extensive German administration with the establishment of a separate Custody of Poland and Bohemia. Such must have been the case if the letters about the incursions of the Tartars are from the hand of our Jordan, who, at least as far as his chronicle is concerned, leaves us entirely in the dark as to his whereabouts from 1239–1242. In vain have I ransacked all available sources for a direct confirmation of his stay in Poland and Bohemia. That most unsatisfactory of chroniclers, John Komerowski, tells us in his "Breve Memoriale" (Monum. Poloniae, T. V, p. 94): "*Doctor autem Myechovita, in cronica Polone dicit quod Boleslaus Pudicus anno Domini 1237 persuasione genitricis sue Grzimislave in annis puericie existens, ex Praga*

fratres Minores Cracoviam induxit pro ecclesia monasterioque locum amplum dando et eadem omnia edificavit de coctis lateribus suis impensis. In Toruniam introducti sunt fratres per Popum magistrum Prussie et eis omnia edificavit anno Domini 1236. Cenobium Gneznae Minorissarum et Monasterium fratrum Minorum Dux Boleslaus Pyus Calisiensis fundavit et villis dotavit et libertavit 1259. Et post alia loca suscepta sunt in Polonia. In Iuniwladislavia quidam dux edificavit claustrum cum civitate pariter.'' It appears, then, from this passage, that the period of the introduction of the Order into Poland is to be found during the time that forms a gap in the history of Jordan. It is also certain that this spread of the Order into Poland and Bohemia proceeded from the German Province, for both Jordan (Chronica, Chap. 55) and Komerowski (Tractatus Cronice, ed. Zeisberg, p. 317) inform us that John of Plano Carpinis: *''Ordinis sui dilatator maximus fuit. Minister enim factus in Bohemiam, in Ungariam, in Poloniam, in Daciam et Norwegiam fratres misit.''* Moreover, the provenance from the pen of Jordan of the letters (on the Tartar invasion) has been fully discussed and seems sufficiently established (chapter on preparation of Latin text). There seems, then, to be no reason to doubt that Jordan, soon after his return from the General Chapter of 1239, was appointed superior of the newly formed custody of Poland and Bohemia, and that he administered this office till 1242, when he was appointed Vicar-Provincial of the German Province by the Minister-General, Haymo of Faversham, who had presided at the Chapter of Aldenburg in that year. I flatter myself to have discovered some additional evidence for this.

In the same chapter of the ''Chronica Majora'' (M. G. SS., XXVIII, 206–207), wherein Matthew Paris has inserted the letters of Jordan, there are two letters of Landgrave Henry Raspe to his brother-in-law, Duke Henry II of Brabant and Louvain, that bear a most remarkable

resemblance, both in style and content, to the three letters of Jordan. Thus, to take just some random examples, we find in the first letter of the Landgrave:

Pericula antiquitus in scripturis Sanctis praedicta, peccatis nostris exigentibus nunc pullulant et erumpunt. . . .	Jordan, letter 3, p. 209: Quoniam agentibus peccatis hominum . . . diu praescita et praedicta venit tribulatio . . . quae juxta feritatem jam olim de se Scriptura prelibatum testimonio. . . .
Hiis etiam adjicimus quod magna pars ejusdem detestabilis gentis cum exercitu alio illis adjecto Hungariam inaudita vastat tyrannide.	Jordan, letter I, p. 207: Alii exercitui venienti per Hungariam occurerunt et praevalentes dicuntur modo potissimum partem Hungariae, expulso rege possidere. . . .
Veraciter enim et plene nobis constat quod eadem gens Tartarorum circiter Octavas Paschae terras Boemorum crudeliter et impetuose invadet. . . .	Jordan, *ibid:*— Isto autem anno venientes ante Pascha in Poloniam bonas civitates pluribus interfectis optinuerunt. . . . Procedentes de Polonia fines Theutoniae attigerunt. . . .

In both letters of the Landgrave we find the phrase:

Et ut multa *paucis perstringamus* . . . adeo opprimitur, . . . cum dicti homines. . . .

In Jordan, second letter:

Quare vobis licet magna pericula, *perstricto tamen sermone,* vestram duximus. . . .

In letter I of the Landgrave we are informed that: *Nos autem ministerio praelatorum nostrorum, Predicatorum et Minorum, crucem facimus, quia Crucifixi res agitur, generaliter praedicari.* . . .

In his second letter the same phrase recurs:

Nos vero de superni judicis bonitate et misericordia confisi humiliter sanctors viros Praedicatores et Minores ut toti populo Christiano ducatui subdito crucem, orationes afflictiones et jejunia praedicent, etc.

It is apparent from these letters of Landgrave Henry that he availed himself of the aid of the Friars, Preachers and Minor to arouse the attention of the princes of Europe to the terrible menace threatening Christendom through the irruptions of the Tartars, and that he engaged them to preach the Cross against these barbarians. Naturally, the first one he would have turned to was the Superior of the Custody of Thuringia, and this was, during this critical time, our Jordan. One of Jordan's letters opens with: *Fratribus universis frater R. de Ordine Predicatorum et I(ordanus) de ordine fratrum Minorum;* the second, *Illustri principi Henrico duci Brabantiae frater Jordanus viceminister fratrum Minorum Regni Boemiae et Polemie;* the third, *Karissimis Christi fidelibus universis . . . frater Jordanus ordinis fratrum Minorum, vicarius provincie Polemie.*

Jordan, then, was (1) one of the preachers of a crusade against the Tartars, and this at the behest of the Landgrave of Thuringia. (2) To judge by the style of the letters of Landgrave Henry, Jordan seems to have served as his adviser and probably secretary in the composition of his appeals. (3) Since one of Jordan's letters is directed to Duke Henry of Brabant, and in view of the words of Henry of Thuringia (I letter), "cum vobis nostros nuntios iterato direxerimus," it seems not improbable that he served as special ambassador of the Landgrave to Duke Henry of Brabant. (4) It was very probable, on account of Jordan's active interest in the prevention of further devastations by the Tartars, that his superiors appointed him to the perilous office of viceminister or custos of Poland, so that he might be the better able to further the alliance against these savages, for which all well-wishers of Christian civilization, the Emperor Frederic II for once included, were laboring at that time. The evidence for all this is very strong, one might even say conclusive. The only objection, and it is a difficult one to meet, is the complete silence of Jordan in his

chronicle. I do not attach much value to the *argumentum e silentio,* yet it is remarkable that our chronicler should not have one word to say about a period of his life that must have been filled with some of the most stirring experiences that fell within even his adventurous career, and which must have left a deep impression on his memory. But we must remember that Jordan can be most provokingly reticent on other very important affairs that surely came under his personal observations. He barely mentions St. Elizabeth, tell us nothing about her life and the persecutions she had to suffer at the hands of this Landgrave Henry Raspe, whom Jordan must have known so well; Caesarius of Speyer, his beloved and much admired friend, disappears entirely from the chronicle after his return to Italy, and Jordan, who might have been a most valuable witness to the later history of that famous friar, gives us no particle of information about his tragic fate or his death, which is still shrouded in sinister mystery. He must have known the facts about John of Plano Carpinis's journeys to Tartary and China, but, for all we can gather from the recital of Jordan, the identity of this associate-founder of the Franciscan Order in Germany with the famous missionary would still be problematical. Jordan's Chronicle, we must not forget, is the artless story of a veteran told in all simplicity to the younger generation; we must not look in it for strict continuity or completeness, least of all regarding events that might redound to the personal glorification of the humble friar. And thus the reticence of Jordan may well be considered outbalanced by the extraneous testimony to his career in Poland taken from the *Chronica Majora.*

The last notice about himself is given in Chapter 71 where we are told, as has been mentioned before, of his appointment to the vicariate of the German Province by Brother Haymo of Faversham. He held this office until the arrival of the new Minister-Provincial, Brother Gottfried. Hereafter no mention is made of Jordan. We

are told in the Prologue of his Chronicle that at the Chapter of Halberstadt in 1262, he yielded to the unanimous request of his confreres and dictated his memoirs to Brother Baldwin of Brandenburg. The date of his death is unknown. Inasmuch as he describes himself in this Prologue as "jam senex et debilis" we will not go far wrong in placing it within the immediately following years. John Komerowski indeed tells us: "*Et frater Jordanus, prefatus, qui a principio scripsit cronicam usque ad tempora Bonagratiue Generalis et Nicolai III.*" (Tract. Cron. ed. Zeisberg, p. 316.) But, as Mr. Boehmer remarks (Intr., p. XXIV), this merely proves that Komerowski copied from a version of the chronicle that contained the first chapters of the so-called "Continuatio Saxonica," which, according to Lemmens (*Arch. Franc. Hist.*, Vol. 3, p. 49), may have been added by Baldwin of Brandenburg, but which are certainly not a part of the dictation of Jordan.

He found his last resting place in Magdeburg. According to Boehmer the first mention of this—other testimonies have been cited in the first paragraph of this biography—is found in the: "Compilation d'Avignon, Fac secundum exemplar, voir le manuscript (B) de notre text, f. 123: in Mandeburch frater Jordanus de Italia. On la trouve dans la Chron. XXIV. Génér., p. 137 et dans Barthélémy de Pise, L. I., fr. 8; on ne peut malheureusement pas fixer cette date exactement, car les documents et le nécrologe du couvent franciscan de Magdebourg qui devraient nous renseigner sont perdus. Voir "Magdeburgische Geschichtsblätter," T. 5, p. 532. "J'ai aussi cherché le nom de Jourdain dans toutes les recueils de documents imprimés soit de la Saxe, soit de la Thuringe. Mais je ne l'ai trouvé nulle part." (Intr. LXIII–LXIV.)

Very probably these sources, like so many other documents of Franciscan history, fell victim to the storms of

the Reformation and of the wars upon religious houses during the periods of "Enlightenment" and "Josephinism," not to mention the neglect of the friars themselves. (*Franziskanische Studien,* Vol. 1, p. 65 ff.)

The "Chronica" is the best self-revelation of the character and disposition of our hero. Every page witnesses to the accuracy of the portrait painted in the words of Glassberger: "This Brother Jordan, however, was one of the first friars sent by the Blessed Francis into Germany. He was a man of dark complexion, small stature, of cheerful heart, benevolent and ever ready for every kind of good deed. He was a man of great obedience who respected no mark of sanctity in a friar minor or accounted it of any moment, without obedience. (*Chronica, Anal. Franc.,* Vol. 2, p. 54.) Obedience is indeed the key to his whole life, from the moment when, in disregard of his own most ardent wishes and the delicate state of his health, he accepted the formidable mission to Germany, to the last recorded act of his life, when at the wish of the Provincial he dictated his memoirs to Baldwin, "quia crimen ariolandi est nolle acquiescere et scelus idololatriae nolle obedire." Of Jordan's cheerfulness we are given abundant evidence; it falls like a friendly sunshine athwart his weary wanderings across the length and breadth of Germany, his travels to Italy, his meeting even with the august head of Christendom, the Holy Father in Rome. No matter how difficult or trying the situation, he is never forsaken by the saving grace of humor and can extract a smile from hunger, thirst and weariness of soul and body.

Voigt seriously attempts to make our Jordan something of a rationalist and sceptic regarding the miracles of St. Francis and the universal belief in the sanctity of the holy Founder. And this, forsooth, because Jordan does not mention any of the wonderful deeds of the Saint with the exception of the events narrated in Chapter 59. The same sinister twist is given to the quite innocent expres-

sion of our friend: "*Et ex tunc frater Jordanus beatum Franciscum—in majori reverentia cepit habere, etc.*"

It is hardly necessary to refute these outcroppings of dense prejudice in the mind of an otherwise most estimable scholar. It has been ably done by the editors of the Quaracchi edition of our chronicle. Nowhere is the *argumentum e silentio* of less value than in our Jordan, and Voigt, in working it to death, permits his wishes to be father of the thought. It took indeed all the preconceived opinions of a mind entirely out of sympathy with Catholic sentiment to establish such a theory, and no one would have been more horrified and indignant than our Jordan at seeing such a construction put upon his speech or his silence.

Wadding (T. II.) and Melissanus de Macro (Suppl., p. 256–7) tell us that Jordan was among other things "*vir doctissimus et doctrinae parem habuit pietatem.*" I agree with Voigt in his remark (p. 435), "*während wir freilich versucht sind seine einfache Frömmigkeit höher zu stellen.*" True as this is, Boehmer, on the other hand, goes too far when he denies him all claim to a higher clerical education. He writes: "Jourdain avait la culture qui était à cette époque celle du bas clergé. Ce n'était pas un savant." The passages from the prologue, quoted in support of this criticism, are merely the conventional apologies affected by almost every writer. Undoubtedly "Il sait aussi fort bien qu'il n'écrit pas un Latin élégant." Nor am I going to vindicate for him Ciceronian or classic Latinity. But I deny that "sitôt qu'il essaye de se servir de phrases un peu longues, comme dans le Prologue de son Libellus, son langue devient lourd ou offre même des défauts de construction." Far from being heavy, I venture to say that the Latin of Jordan is remarkably clear and that no one with any reading knowledge of Latin and a fair smattering of its medieval variety, need twice peruse a single sentence of his Chronicle in order to make out exactly what he wants to say. And this is no mean

praise which the present writer would be quite happy to deserve for himself. Jordan's Latin is the language of a man impregnated with the diction of Holy Writ and not without a certain knowledge of the Fathers. Such as it is, he writes it with facility and mastery. Of course, if we consider language merely for language's sake, he cannot be numbered among the elect, but as a medium of communication he handles his Latin well and effectively. What Boehmer calls "vulgarism italiens" are common usages of medieval Latinity. Certainly Boehmer has not been very fortunate in selecting his specimens. The partitives with "de" instead of the genitive are of quite respectable antiquity and can be found frequently among Latin writers of classical as well as post-classical time. "*De reliquiis,*" Chap. 59 (qui gavisus dedit ei *de reliquiis* Beati Francisci"), can be paralleled by "*Date nobis de oleo vestro quia lampades nostrae extinguuntur*" (Matth. 25, 8), "nisi *manum mitterent* ad radicem" (Chap. 63), finds its parallel in Luc. 9, 62: "Nemo *mittens manum* suam ad aratrum." If these are "vulgarismes italiens," they are certainly of quite venerable antiquity and not at all peculiar to Jordan. Chapter 14, we find Boehmer taking exception to "verecundia" as an Italianism for "vergogna;" but *verecundia,* in the sense of "confusion, disgrace," etc., is used in Ps. 43, 16: "Tota die *verecundia* mea contra me est, et confusio faciei meae cooperuit me;" in I Cor. 6, 5: "Ad *verecundiam* vestram dico." In a similar sense we find it in Suetonius, Dom. 18: "Commendari se *verecundia* oris adeo sentiebat, etc.;" Livy, 24, 42, 9: "*Verecundia* Romanos tandem cepit, Saguntum sub hostium potestate esse." "Subito" (Chap. 15), in the sense of "all at once" or "quickly" may be found in III Kings, 20, 40: "Dum autem ego turbatus huc illucque me verterem subito non comparuit;" Luke 9, 39: "et *subito* clamat, et elidit, etc." Cic. Fam. Coel. ad Cic. 8, 7: "Breviores has litteras tabellario properanti *subito* dedi." Why should "venire" in Chapter 17 (quod

ordinis edificatio in Theutoniam non venisset) have to be translated by "réussir"? And how can this be styled an Italianism? The sense of the passage certainly implies no more than: the spread of the order had not yet *reached* Germany. And the use of "*venire*" is quite obvious and natural. There is no reason to insist on an interpretation like: "The establishment of the order had not yet *succeeded* in Germany," as Boehmer seems to imply. Nor can I see what fault is to be found with "*in partem* se traherent" (Chap. 17). Cicero, Pro Sylla, 77, has: "*in* impiorum *partem* atque in parricidarum numerum transferre;" Mark, 6, 40: "Et discubuerunt *in partem* per centenos." Coloss. I:12: "Qui dignos nos fecit *in partem* sortis sanctorum." While these passages are not exactly parallels, they at least render it doubtful whether Jordan was imitating the Italian idiom "a parte." Chapter 18: "*Praecipere per obedientiam*" is ancient usage in the language of religious life and no "Italianism" whatever. The same might be said about "*de licentia*" (Chap. 19), although a similar usage, in place of "secundum," is not unknown even to Suetonius, Tit. 5: "*De more rituque* priscae religionis;" and, Tib. 13: "*de* consilii *sententia.*" Cæsar, B. G.: 8, 54: "*de sententia* adversariorum." Other instances might be multiplied. "*Disponere*" in Chapter 10 and Chapter 19, must not necessarily be a reflex from the Italian "disporre." Chapter 10: "*His itaque dispositis,*—et redire *disponeret*—;" Chapter 19: "et cum iter arripere *disponeret*"—. The usage is quite frequent in Biblical Latin. Nor is it tabooed by the ancients, as any good dictionary will show. The passage "ubi cum magna penuria *de duobus buccellis* et VII rapis *malum famis miserae et sitim gaudio cordis temperabant*" (Chap. 21) is evidently a reminiscence of Genesis, 41, 57: "*ut emerent escas et malum inopiae temperarent.*" "*In sero*" (Chap. 21) need not be a "vulgarism." "*Serum*" is certainly a good, old substantive and if we find Liv. 10, 28: "*In serum* noctis convivium produc-

tum,'' and *''in serum* dimicatione protracta'' (Suet. Aug. 17), we may excuse Jordan for coining *''quod in sero venirent.''* In Chapter 27 we find *''posuit se in bancum,''* which latter word is also included in the list of ''Italianisms'' by Boehmer. But *''bancus''* is used by a goodly number of medieval writers outside of Italy as, among others, the article *''bancus''* in the ''Glossarium Archaiologicum'' of Henricus Spelmannus will demonstrate. *''Culpatus''* resp. *''culpare''* translated by Boehmer *''blamer''* will be found used in this sense by such ancient Italians as Plautus, Ovid, Horace, Suetonius, Quintillian and others. We ought, then, readily forgive our Jordan the employment of this ''italianism.'' *''Se intromittere''* (Chap. 58) may be the Italian ''Intromettersi,'' but we find it also in other, non-Italian writers of the Middle Ages, as Ducange mentions under that word. Among users of *''attediare''* (attaediare) we find, according to Ducange, Joannes Major, ''De Gestis Scotorum,'' Ericus Upsalensis in ''Historia Suecorum'' and others. How anybody can read a ''vulgarism italien'' into *''terminare''* (Chaps. 17 and 78), is a mystery to me. It is good Latin. There are other expressions in Jordan that do smack of Italian derivation and which Boehmer does not mention, ex. gr. *''passagio,'' ''discutiat,'' ''in continenti,'' ''auscultavit''* (in the sense of ''inquiring''), *''denariatas,'' ''scutellas,'' ''septimanis,'' ''importuna* instantia;'' but they are used in Latin writings in medieval times in every country of Europe and certainly do not prove anything for or against the nationality of their writer.

I have gone into some detail on the Latinity of Jordan because Boehmer finds in these ''Italianisms'' the main proof for the authenticity of the letters on the Tartar invasions. Thus he says on p. LXII of his Introd.: ''Ce qui est favorable à cette hypothèse, c'est que l'auteur des lettres était selon toute apparence un Italien: (1) Il compare l'étendue des deux custodies dévastées par les Mon-

gols á celle de la Toscane et de la Lombardie; (2) Il emploie une fois le partitif italien: "due custodie de fratribus nostris." The latter fact, as we have seen, does not prove anything, the "partitif" with "de" is common to all Romance languages and Jordan plainly uses it here as a variation in style since he says: "Noveritis etiam quod jam 5 conventus *Predicatorum* et due custodie *de fratribus nostris* sunt penitus destructe." More weighty is the comparison of the extent of the devastated territory with the Italian lands of Tuscany and Lombardy. It is certainly remarkable that a man who had spent the greater part of his life in Germany should make for Italy in order to find a comparison. But we must remember that this particular letter is addressed to "Karissimis Christi fidelibus *universis* ad quod presens scriptum pervenerit," and Jordan may well have inserted the names of districts well known to every Christian in Europe rather than some less famous names.

Boehmer adds: "Il faut aussi prendre en considération le latin tout à fait rustique des deux lettres." Rusticity, if Jordan is really to be accused of it—which I deny —is a very common complaint among medieval chroniclers, and is a rather weak criterion by which to decide the provenience of a document of those times. But we have another and quite unmistakable touchstone for Jordan's authorship.

As I read his chronicle the conviction grew on me that the outstanding feature of his style is an excessive, or at least quite disproportionate use of ablatives absolute and other participial constructions. It cannot be accidental that one may easily count some 500 such constructions in the by no means lengthy document. Now the same prominence is given to these constructions in the three letters, the first one (in Boehmer's edition) exhibiting some nineteen; the second, twenty-five, and the one omitted from B's edition, ten. Besides, as Fr. Bihl has justly said, in the review of that edition, Arch. Franc. Hist., p. 649,

the three letters are intimately connected in contents and object.

And, if really "the style is the man," it is one not unworthy of our friend. He may not have had, as Boehmer claims, "pas reçu de culture supérieure," but he knew how to say what he had to say, tersely, vividly and interestingly. He is preeminently a man of action, a keen observer; in spite, or perhaps on account of his truly Franciscan simplicity, a shrewd diplomat, always full of expedients and never losing his presence of mind. That he was a good organizer and efficient administrator was well known to his superiors, who entrusted the most important duties to him. These duties he performed well and he is richly entitled to the one reference he makes to his own merits, if, indeed, he intended to make one: "And this is your brother Jordan, who is writing this for you, who in such wise came to Germany, who escaped the furor Theutonicus which he dreaded so much and who, together with Brother Caesarius and the other friars, first planted the Order of Minors in Germany." (Chap. 18.)

THE LATIN TEXT OF THE PRESENT EDITION.

In preparing the text of the present edition my steady aim has naturally been to present as faithfully as possible the original text of Jordan. How arduous a task this is, easily appears from a study of the condition of the only remaining MSS. Neither of the two fragments, (B) and (K), exhibits an autograph of Brother Baldwin, of Brandenburg, or even a good copy of the same.

I was confronted, however, by other difficulties. All my efforts to obtain photographic reproductions of the two codices failed on account of the chaos introduced into postal communication by the present war. I had, therefore, to depend on the critical apparatus of Boehmer's model edition. His text has been, throughout, the standard along which the present text was revised and, at least as far as good intention counts, improved upon. I thought myself justified in placing absolute trust on Boehmer's annotations, a reliance well founded on his superb scholarship and painstaking research, of which Van Ortroy says (*Anal. Bolland.,* T. 28, pp. 335–337): "Désormais on ne pourra plus citer l'oeuvre de Jourdain que d'après le texte fixé par le travail patient et sagace de M. Boehmer. Son édition est conformé á toutes les éxigences modernes. On pourra, peut-être, la perfectionner par quelque découvert heureuse; mais je doute fort qu'il resulte une modification notable."

I cannot claim to have made such a "découvert heureuse;" yet my high respect for the distinguished editor has not led me to follow him blindly. Every available means of verifying or correcting his numerous emendations, corrections, insertions has been conscientiously employed. The previous editions of Voigt and the *Analecta Franciscana* have been carefully and painstakingly collated with Boehmer's text. Every word has been studied and weighed and the references to Glassberger's Chronicle and—as far as possible—to Komerowski have been traced and verified, and, if necessary, corrected.

I am well aware that only the inspection of the MSS. or their photographs would have fully authorized me to make some of my conjectures and changes, nevertheless I have not hesitated to incorporate them in the text wherever and whenever its present condition seemed to demand it. What with the labors of Voigt, the Quaracchi editors and Dr. Boehmer, it seems almost impossible that any important feature or peculiarity of the codices should have escaped discovery or mention in their critical apparatus. The latter, to all intents and purposes, exhibits the MSS. themselves.

A full account of all the most important variants and readings both of the Codex (B) and (K) as well as of the editions by Voigt, the Analecta and of the edition of the Codex (K) by Fr. Leonard Lemmens in the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* Vol. 3 (1910), is given in my critical apparatus. Mere errors of the copyists and such points as have been definitely settled by the previous editors have been omitted. Considering, however, the impossibility of basing my conjectures on personal investigation of the MSS., I feel that some of the changes introduced into the present text stand in need of a more explicit justification than can be given in the necessarily brief notes of the apparatus.

Every editor has been puzzled by the conclusion of the second sentence of the Prologue (p. 1, l.17, Ed. Bo.). Vo. and An. tell us that codex (B) here gives evidence of several corruptions in the text. Neither the one nor the other tried to submit a satisfactory conclusion. An. tell us simply: "nil conjectando immutavimus." Bo. inserts the words: "desiderio (*fratrum statui*) satisfacere," adding in the apparatus: "quaedam in (B) hic excidisse patet." I have ventured to read: *desidero satisfacere.* This is not at all unlike the Latinity of Jordan and saves him from the rather awkward repetition of the phrase used but a few lines before: "fratrum devoto desiderio statui annuere."

On Chapter 5, p. 5, l.1 (Ed. Bo.), Boehmer remarks, Apparatus, note *e*: "ex plurali: "*missi sunt* nomen unius fratris excidisse suspicor," and hence he indicates a lacuna in the text. I cannot agree with him on this point. The plural number seems to me sufficiently explained by the words following: "cum fratribus 60 vel pluribus." I have, therefore, omitted the indication of a lacuna. On pages 5–6 of the same chapter Boehmer introduces the phrase: "*quidam ex ipsis plagati*" *taken*, without indication, from the "Breve Memoriale."

Another quite unsatisfactory reading occurs in the same chapter, p. 6, l.2: "et quidam denudati *ad choream* sunt ducti." Voigt, in the first edition, says: "Ich wüsste das Wort, das hier offenbar den Schandpfahl bedeutet sonst nicht nachzuweisen," to which Boehmer replies (p. 6, note 1): "Mais *choreo* ne signifie jamais *pilori*. S'il y avait dans le texte *chorda* au lieu de *chorea* on pourrait admettre que les frères subire la peine de la *chorda* c'est á dire qu'ils auraient été bernés. V. Ducange a ce mot et J. Grimm, Rechtsaltertümer, 4 ed., T. II, p. 324. Mais chorea parait bien établi. Il faut sans doute songer à une forme particulière de ce qu'on appelait la *processio* donc a une peine d'honneur. C'est en tout cas ce qui indiquerai la *denudatio* du frère.[1]

I do not know what to do with: *ad choream sunt ducti*. It defies translation.[2] "They were led to the dance"

---

[1]V. Grimm, l. c. II, p. 305*s*.

[2]There is indeed a passage in Salimbene, Ed. Holder-Egger, M.G.S., T. XXXII, p. 628, l. 28–36, "Nam in precedentibus annis ab isto millesimo quidam molendinarii de Regio cum quadam calliditate et malicia petierunt et obtinuerunt a fratribus Minoribus aliquas tunicas habituales et veteres, quas dicebant se velle ponere sub labore et instrumento fullonis, ut inde meliores efficerentur; *cum quibus postea tempore carnisprivii in habitu fratrum Minorum advesperascente jam die in strata publica choreiçando cantabant.* Et hanc stultitiam faciebant instigante diabolo qui volebat, quod 'ponerent maculam in electis' (Eccli. 11, 33), ut fratres Minores a transeuntibus crederentur qui talia faciebant, et sic ordini in scandalum et in dedecus redundaret." But the passage in Jordan describes a different scene. No matter how one tries to explain *ad choream*, it makes no sense and eludes any reasonable translation.

seems impossible. I, therefore, venture to substitute "*ad choram,*" preferring a conjecture to an absurdity. About this word we find the following in Ducange: "Chora, Communia, Commune Juratorum in urbibus a quibus civium lites judicantur: vox formata, ut videtur a *Curia:* unde Choremanni qui olim *Curiales.* Consuetudines villae Arkarum an, 1231, in Tabul. S. Bertini: Hominibus nostris de Arkes legem juratam quae chora vulgariter appellatur dedimus et concessimus in hunc modum, etc. Infra: Jurare debent etiam omnes in villa manentes Choram et legem villae."

If this is the correct reading, then the "Friars were brought to the local tribunal," which is in perfect accord with the passage in question. It is very probable that the 15th century copyist, ignorant of the meaning of the word "*chora,*" substituted the more familiar "*chorea.*"

In Chap. 6, p. 6, l.21, we are told that *unas ex iisdem fratribus XV, vicibus ipse sic braccas amiserat.* Voigt, Analecta and Boehmer, all refer here to Chap. 18 where the number is reduced to *VI vicibus.* An. say: "Infra Chap. 18, habetur VI, sed apparet in codice ibi aliquid esse erasum," and Bo., substituting XV from Glassberger tells us, App. a., "VII B. radendo, ut videtur correxit: VI." Even Komerowski seems to have been staggered by "XV vicibus" and saves himself by compromising on "multis" vicibus. In spite of Boehmer and Wadding, who has *quindecies,* I have adopted *VI vicibus,* which is still a sufficiently large number to satisfy anyone.

In Chap. 7, p. 7, l. 8, both Voigt and Boehmer substitute: *ut* frater Helias for the reading of (B) *et* frater, etc. But the Analecta justly remarks (p. 3, note 6, Ed. I), *non bene* posuit *ut* pro *et.* It is true that with the substitution of *ut* the historical uncertainty of the mission of Brother Elias to the Orient vanishes immediately, but on this very account I dare not adopt the reading. Jordan's doubt about the two missions of 1217 and 1219 seems to extend to the sending of Brother Elias also. The apparently

innocent substitution of *ut* for *et* is of too far-reaching consequences to be lightly adopted. Moreover, the doubt of Jordan seems to touch not only the time but also the destination of the brothers. I have, therefore, followed the *Analecta.*

In Chap. 16, p. 16, l.9, Boehmer takes Glassberger's version and reads: "Dominus Reynerius dyaconus cardinalis cum pluribus aliis episcopis et religiosis" against B. and An., who read: "cum pluribus episcopis et aliis religiosis." Rainerius Capocci is expressly called a Cardinal-*Deacon* and hence it seems preferable to me to retain the text of the codex and of the *Analecta,* although Capocci was *Bishop* of Viterbo, but only from 1243–1244. (Moroni, 8, 62; Gams, Ser. Episc., p. 737.)

Quite a difference of opinion has arisen about the correct reading of Chap. 17, p. 18, l.10. Voigt has: *largis cereis,* and calls Wadding's reading: *ocreis* meaningless. For this he is taken to task by the Analecta, who prefer Wadding's reading. Boehmer again introduces *cereis,* which causes the following stricture by Fr. Bihl, *Arch. Franc. Hist.,* Vol. 2 (1909), p. 650: minus probatur—quod *cereis* non mutaverit in *ocreis* quod adjectivo *largis* certe melius correspondet; . . . I side, however, with Boehmer. *Cereis* is evidently the reading of the codex. The passage from Komerowski, *Breve Memoriale,* quoted by Boehmer, also confirms this reading: *largis elemosinis sanctorum limina visitant.* Candles as votive offerings are quite common from the earliest ages of the church down to the present time. The *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Art. "Candles" tells us of the "pillars of wax" mentioned by Eusebius, Vita Constantini, IV, XXII. Candles were and are commonly used to burn before shrines towards which the faithful wish to show special devotion. A curious medieval practice was that of offering at any favored shrine a candle or a number of candles equalling in measurement the height of the person for whom some favor was asked. The practice can be traced

back to the time of St. Radegund († 587), and later right through the Middle Ages." (Vol. III, p. 247). Hence the reading *cereis* seems to me eminently in keeping with the whole passage (also with the adjective *largis*) for Bro. Elias in his speech manifestly intends to accentuate the devotion of the German pilgrims, not some peculiarity of dress of accoutrement. I have, therefore, followed Boehmer and adopted *cereis*.

In Chap. 27, p. 30, l. 13, Boehmer substitutes "theutonice" (from Glassberger) for the reading of (B), Voigt and Analecta: quotidie (cottidie), and he adds in the apparatus, note f., "quod melius ad sententiam quadrat." I fail to see how this tallies more satisfactorily with the thought of the sentence. The "Theutonici" expressly answer to the begging of the brethren: Nos *Latinum* non intelligimus; and this in response to the brother who "cepit *Latina lingua* mendicare,—why then should he have attempted to replace the brother who "*theutonice*" mendicabat? The meaning is: that the officious brother came to the assistance of the one to whom the office of alms-gathering had been assigned for that day. Surely he did not expect better success from begging in Latin than the brother who "*theutonice*" mendicabat! Yet this would follow if the reading "*theutonice*" is adopted. I have, therefore, restored: *quotidie*.

In the same chapter (B), Voigt and Analecta have "*nicht iudisch.*" Boehmer amends this into "Nicht Diudisch." But Jordan tells us that the brother pronounced these words "*corrupte,*" and the spelling "*nicht iudisch*" is evidently his attempt to reproduce this defective pronunciation. It is better then to follow the first editions, though the *Analecta* go too far in explaining it as "*non judaice.*" The resemblance is purely accidental.

The addition in Chap. 51, p. 46, l.9–14, taken by Boehmer from Glassberger, is so unmistakably in the style of Jordan that I have incorporated it into the text. The writer of codex (B) was betrayed by the word *capitulo,*

the last word in p. 148 of the MS.; he skipped the entire passage preserved in Glassberger, which again closes with the word *capitulo,* and continued: frater Johannes Parens. This explanation of Dr. Boehmer is absolutely convincing.

Two emendations are introduced into the text of Chap. 55, p. 48, l.17, which are justly repudiated by Fr. Bihl in *Arch. Franc. Hist.,* Vol. II, p. 650. The reading, according to (B) and the Analecta is: homines tunc temporis propter ordinis novitatem et equitis humilitatem, exemplo Christi potius asinantis quam equitantis, movebantur quam nunc propter assiduum fratrum *usum* ad personas ministrorum. Of this Boehmer makes: propter assiduum fratrum abusum *equitandi!* True, he follows in this Glassberger, the Chronica Anonyma, and, we might add, Wadding, who, as Voigt already noted, also has propter *ab* usum *equitandi.* But this merely proves that Glassberger, etc., misunderstood the passage altogether. Jordan is far from implying any such abuse of the privilege of riding horseback on the part of the ministers of his time. The chroniclers of later date, mentioned here, simply read conditions of their own time into the innocent words of our author. Fr. Bihl justly and quaintly remarks: "vox *usus* certe sufficiebat neque vox *equitandi* plane mucronem attingit quia vertitur comparatio inter *asinum* Fr. Johannis de Plano Carpinis et *personas* ministrorum!" I have, therefore, restored the reading of the codex and of the two editions preceding Boehmer's.

These remarks, I trust, will sufficiently justify my departures from the text of Boehmer, or, at least, serve in extenuation of my temerity in making them.

The various additions to the Chronica Jordani given in Boehmer's edition will be relegated to an appendix. The so-called Continuatio Saxonica, in Lemmens's edition Continuatio I, up to 1295 may well be from the pen of Fr. Baldwin of Brandenburg. With the first three chapters the style of the Continuatio abruptly changes and degenerates into a mere enumeration of Ministers-Pro-

vincial and their tenure of office. Little of importance or interest is contained therein. But for the benefit of the student it has been deemed advisable to append them. They bring the history of the "Saxonia," at least in bare outlines, up to the year 1485. The "Fragmenta Benosowiensia" are entirely eliminated from this edition. Fr. Bihl, *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, Vol. II, has successfully refuted the theory of Boehmer that such a work ever existed. Their contents, moreover, are quite extraneous to the matter of the Chronica Jordani.

The second appendix brings the two letters of Jordan quoted in Boehmer, pp. 72–75. To these I have added a third letter, taken from the same source, The *Chronica Majora* of Mathew of Paris, M.G.S., T. XXVIII. In this I have followed the arguments of Fr. Bihl, l.c. The objection to its provenance from Jordan made by Boehmer: "Les auteurs de le troisième doivent être cherchés en Allemagne et plus exactment en Saxe. Or comme le *Frater Jordanus* se trouvait d'après la seconde lettre, à cette même époque en Bohême, on ne saurait l'identifier avec le frère I. de la troisième," is well answered by Bihl, l. c., "Quod Boehmer Jordani Janensi tribuat duas litteras de Tartaris, 72–5 non vero tertiam eodem loco, scil. MG. SS. XXVIII, 207 s., editam et inscriptam *Fr. R. de ordine Praedicatorum et Fr. I(ordanus), de Ordine Minorum,* valde miramur. Quia auctores tertiae epistolae (quae non secus ac secunda est sine loco et nota temporis), non magis in Saxonia quaerendi sunt, uti vult Boehmer LXII, quam in Bohemia vel Moravia. *Fuerant* utique in Saxonia, antequam litteras has scripserunt, cum dicant, L. C. XXVIII, 207s.: *Narraverunt* nobis profugi de terra illa in Saxonia praecipue. . . . Deinde de invasionibus Tartarorum lamentantur atque de Polonia, Moravia, Hungaria depopulatis lugent. Jordanus vero e Saxonia utique venerat! Praeterea tertia illa epistola argumento suo cum duabus aliis intime colligatur."

These arguments seem to me quite convincing and have induced me to enter the third letter into this edition. These letters furnish the only light on the important, though as yet quite obscure, chapter in the life of our author.

The editions of Voigt and Boehmer are to all intents and purposes "codices impressi" and retain all the idiosyncrasies and peculiarities of spelling found in the manuscripts. I have eliminated them from the present text and adopted the modern way of spelling Latin. Names of cities and of persons have been given in their modern forms with the exception of those names whose Latin equivalent is well known and generally accepted. Only thus could I hope to fulfill my intention of making the present edition useful to the general reader.

APPARATUS CRITICUS.

Exemplar hujus novae editionis "Chronica Fratris Jordani a Giano" est editio Henrici Boehmer in "Collection d'Études et de Documents sur l'Histoire Religieuse et Littéraire du Moyen Âge. Vol. VI, Paris, Librarie Fischbacher, 1908.

Abbreviationes:

B. = Codex Berolinensis, Bibliothecae Regalis, Theol. Lat. 196.

K. = Codex Karlsruhensis, Landesbibliothek, 357.

Vo. = Editio Georgii Voigt, in "Abhandlungen der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften," Bd. 5, Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1885.

An. = Editio "Analecta Franciscana," T. 1, Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1885.

Bo. = Editio Boehmer, supra citata.

Le. = Editio Codicis Karlsruhensis, P. Leonardi Lemmens, O.F.M., in "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum," Ad Claras Aquas, Coll. S. Bonav., T. II, 1910.

Gl. = Chronica Fratris Nicolai Glassberger, O.F.M., In "Analecta Franciscana," T. II, Quaracchi, Coll. S. Bonav., 1887.

Ko. = Tractatus Cronice, et: Breve Memoriale Joannis Komerowski, O.F.M.

C. = Caput; P. = Pagina; l. = Linea; quae abbreviationes ordinem editionis exemplaris Bo. ostendunt.

Prologus, P. 1, l.1: An: *aliquoties.*—l.4, An: *multoties.*—l.9, An: *idololatriae.*—l.14, Vo: *post*—; An: *post*—, addunt in calce: in codice est lacuna; Bo., secutus B., nullam allegat lacunam.—l.15, B: *celebrato;* Vo: *celebrato (sic);* An: *celebrato (sic);* Bo: corr. *celebratum.*—l.17, Vo: *desiderio satisfacere;* An: idem; Bo: corr. desiderio (*fratrum statui*) satisfacere; addito, in apparatu: quaedam in B. hic excidisse patet; Ego conjeci: *desidero satisfacere*, quod Latinitati Jordani haud absonum est.

P. 2, l.1, Vo: et ipse velim, *uni* autem (absque puncto periodi); An: velim, *sin* (absque puncto periodi); Bo: puncto periodi concludit sententiam, continuat: *Sin.*—l.2, Vo: *unus* sapiens; An: *minus;* Bo: *minus*, addens in apparatu: B: *unus;* Ed. 2. conjecit *minus*, cf. 2. Cor. 11, 23.—l.5, Vo: *errans;* An: *erravi.*—l.9, Vo: sufficit *nam;* An: *nam.*—l.10, Vo: *politis*, sed suggerit: *peritis*, idem An.—l.18, Vo: *confinxerunt;* An: *confinxerunt;* Bo. ex B.: *confinxerint.*

C. 1, P. 3, l.4, Vo: omittit *ejus.*

C. 2, P. 3, l.7, Bo: evangelio *que;* Vo. et An: *quod.*

C. 2, P. 3, l.9, An: *calceamentis.*

C. 4, P. 4, l.4, Bo. ex Ko. addit: quod (*sic*).—l.5, An: quid *esset.*—l.6, Vo: *quia* heretici: sed ipse jam suspicatus est *quasi*, quam emendationem An., Bo., ego adoptamus.—l.7, Bo. addit ex Ko: magistri (*Parisienses*).—l.11, Bo: addit sede (*apostolica*) ex Ko.—l.11, Bo: ex Ko: (*con*)firmatam.—l.11, Vo: *spirituales* filios.

C. 5, P. 5, l.1, Bo. in nota c., apparatus critici suggerit ex Gl. et Ko. *frater*, et post *fratres* suspicatur lacunam. Sed vide Introductionem, 4.—l.11, Bo: addit: quidam *ex ipsis plagati*, quam additionem nec Vo. nec An. habent. Sumpsit Bo. hanc additionem ex Breve Memoriale, sed uncis non inclusit.—P. 6, l.2, Vo. Bo: *ludecre;* An: *ludicre*, quod substitui.

C. 6, P. 6, l.10, B: *d'isi* = *derisi* (Bo.); Vo. et An: *derisi;* Ko: *dimissi;* Gl: *divisi* quam lectionem cum Bo. adoptavi quia *derisi* manifeste contradicit verbis mox sequentibus *sub silentio* (l.11 et 12)—l.13, B: *mactarentur;* Vo: *tractarentur;* Ko: *caederentur.*—l.21, adoptavi: *VI* vicibus ex lectione B., C. 18.—P. 7, l.4, B: *et hiis aliis;* Vo: *Et hiis aliis;* An: *Et hi aliis;* Ko: *et sic continue his;* Bo: *His et aliis* quam emendationem adoptavi.

C. 7, P. 7, l.8, B: praecedenti, *et;* An: *et;* Vo. et Bo: substituunt *ut;* sed vide Introd.

C. 9, P. 8, l.2 et 3, Bo: ex Gl: Caesarius (*conversus*), similiter Ko.

C. 11, P. 9, l.18, B: *domino* legum; Vo: *divinarum* legum;—P. 11, l.10, Bo: sed (*tantum*) ex Ko.

C. 12, P. 11, l.18, Bo., in apparatu, i, notat ad *vicariorum: add. Gl.* contra Vo. et An. qui hoc verbum in B. legisse videntur.—P. 12, l.10, Bo., An., Gl: *Ha;* Vo: *ita.*—P. 12, l. 14–16, Bo. addit ex Gl: (*et e regione ille patri suo spirituali se humiliando eundem reverentiae cultum eidem impendebat*), sed perperam.

C. 13, P. 12, l.22–23, Vo. in apparatu: Hier fehlen offenbar einige Worte; An: aliqua verba excidisse videntur; Bo. in apparatu: *B. hoc loco unam lineam excidisse patet.* Supplevi cum Bo. ex Gl: (*Hec dixit fratribus qui cum sancto Francisco erant.*)

C. 14, P. 14, l.8, Bo: *facto* ei reverentia; videtur esse menda typographica.—P. 14, l.11, Bo. ex Gl. et Ko. addit: magnus (*dominus*).—l.17, Vo: Ad *que.*

C. 15, P. 15, l.4, Vo: *turbacionibus;* An: *turbationibus.*—l.9, Vo. et An: rumoribus *quos;* Bo: *que.*

C. 16, P. 16, l.9, B: *cum pluribus episcopis et aliis religosis;* Vo. et An: idem; Bo: cum *pluribus aliis episcopis* et religiosis.—P. 17, l.4–6, Vo: *Benedictus dominus deus meus qui*—, et addit, perperam, *ad plene.* (An., P. 6, adnotatio 1.)—l.14, B: *cii* pro *tamen.* An. legerunt in codice *cum* et addunt (adn. 2, P. 6) "quod vel omittendum est, vel a librario suppositum est pro verbo *convenientium*, abbreviate scriptum, ut acute suspicatus est Vo." Ergo cum An. lego: *convenientium*, loco: *tamen* quod Bo. desumpsit ex Gl.—l.18, B: *expederent*, Ko. et Gl. *expenderent.*

C. 17, P. 17, l.20, Vo: *cum* jam.—P. 18, l.3, Vo. et An: ad pedes *Heliae fratis;*—l.9, Vo: *sepe;* An: *saepe;* Bo: *spe*, qui error typographicus esse videtur.—l.9, Bo: addit ex Ko: (*per*) terram; Bo: (*per terram nostram cum*) uncis includit, nescio quare.—l.10, An: *ocreis* loco *cereis;* Vo: *cereis*, Gl. et Wadding: *ocreis.*—l.12, B: post *sanctorum* habet *transeunt* quod est deletum, (Bo.)—P. 19, l.3, addidi cum Bo. ex Gl: (*martyrii*) post *desiderio.*

C. 18, P. 19, l.11, Vo. et An: *ipsum* pro *ipsorum*, quam lectionem adoptavi.—l.15, Bo: ut (et) ex Gl.—l.18, *quis* est deletum in B.—P. 20, l.24, B: *ftam* pro *sanctam.* (Bo.)—l.27, B: *ne si*, in loco raso. (Bo.)—l.31, Vo. et An: *consilia;* Bo. legit in B: *consilio;* Bo. ex Gl: *consilium;* secutus sum Vo. et An.—P. 21, l.1, Bo. ad *XV vicibus:* ita recte Gl; VII B. radendo ut videtur correxit VI.

C. 19, P. 22, l.2, B: *et Thoma*, biser; Gl: *de Zelchio vel Celano;* Ko: de *Ceperano sive Zelano;* in Tractatu Cronice: *frater Thomas de Ceperano.*—P. 23, l.1, B. et Gl: *t'visio;*—l.2, B: *filii;*—l.2, Gl: *Colozon;* Vo: *Colaron.*—l.5, B: *Palmero*, sed vide P. 19, l.22.—l.5, B: *Jordane de Yano.*—P. 24; l.1, Bo: legit in B: *quibus*, et addit (*dam*) uncis inclusum. Sed An: *quibus-dam*, et dicunt in adnotatione 4. ad P. 8: Ed. I. "quibus," *refragante codice et contextu.*—l.2, Vo., An., Gl., et Wadding: *Solato*, pro *Sosato.*—l.4, B: 13 (*tredecim*); idem Ko. Secutus sum Bo. qui in apparatu critico, nota *e* dicit: "Cum Augustae jam fere 31 fratres numerentur, cf. infra c. 23, et unus tantum laicus in itinere Cesario nomen dedisse dicatur, Gl. hoc quoque loco meliorem lectionem exhibere puto." Jam Voigt adnotavit: "Wadding 15." (P. 572, adn. 50.)

C. 20, P. 24, l. 18, Gl: *quindecim* (XV)., (Bo.)

C. 21, P. 25, l.1, Bo. post *convocatis* addit ex Gl: (*post hec*).—l.3-4, Bo. supplevit ex Gl: (*relictis ibi aliquibus fratribus pro populi edificatione et alios*) quam lectionem adoptavi cum optime stylo Jordani respondeat et Bo., in apparatu critico, nota *c*, dicat: "hoc quoque loco B. unam lineam videtur omisisse."—l.16, Bo. ex Gl. supplet buccellis (*panis*).—P. 26, l.1, Bo. legit in B: *milianorum;* An. legerunt: *milliariorum;* ita Vo. et An. Ego cum Bo. ex Gl: *miliarium*, quia Jordanus ipse l.5 habet miliare. l.5, An: *milliare.*—l.18, B: *duos denariatos;* Vo: *duos denariacos;* Bo. ex Gl: *duas denariatas* panis; cf. Ducange ad Verbum. Adjectivum "denariatus" vel "denariacus" non exstitisse videtur.

C. 22, P. 27, l.1, Bo. ex Gl. addit post *domino* (Sybotone) sed, ut ipse admittit, erronee; cf. Bihl, in Arch. Franc. Hist. T.2, P. 650.

C. 23, P. 27, l.11, Bo. addit ex Gl: (*in*) ingressu.—l.12, Vo: capitulo *prime;* An in adn. 4, ad P. 9: *lectio codicis ambigua est.*—P. 28, l.2, Vo: verbum *prime.*

C. 24, P. 28, l.10, Bo: in *hono*, quod videtur esse menda typographica.

C. 25, P. 28, l.12, Bo: (*h*)abilem, quem secutus sum.—P. 29, l.6, Vo: *minime* pro *misericordia.*

C. 26, P. 29, l.13, An: *arctus.*

C. 27, P. 30, l.6, Bo. supplet scriptum (*sit*), sed superflue et nulla auctoritate suffragante.—l.13, Bo. ex Gl: *theutonice* pro *quotidie,* contra B., Vo. et An.—l.17, B., Vo., An: nicht *iudisch.*—l.17–18,Vo: "*nichil*" *theutonici subaudi* "*scio.*" Sed jam Voigt hic corruptelam adesse suspicatus est.—P.30 l.25, B: utili *sibi;* idem Vo. et An; Bo: *sue.*—P. 31, l.4, Vo: *similiter* pro *super*, contra codicem.—l. 10, iterum *similiter* pro *super.*

C. 32, P. 33, l.3, B: *t'visio* pro Tervisio.—l.4, *viri spiritus* pro *jurisperitus.*

C. 33, P. 33, l.5, B: *insanus* pro *Pisanus.*

C. 34, P. 34, l.7, B: *Tichmarus.*

C. 35, P. 35, l.7, Vo: *eleomosinam.*—l.8, B: *wltibus;* Vo: *voltibus.*

C. 37, P. 35, l.19, Bo. addit ex Gl: Johannem (*de Plano Carpinis custodem Saxoniae*) et in apparatu critico, nota *o*, "scriba, novam paginam incipiens, haec verba omisisse videtur."—P. 36, l.5, B: *valle*, pro *valde;* Vo: *virtutumque.*

C. 38, P. 36, l.8, B: *Saxoniae*, sed Bo. recte ex Gl. substituit *Theutoniae*. Jam Voigt ad hunc locum: "Der Irrtum ist handreiflich".—l.11, Bo. ex Gl: (*ut*) in Thuringia etc.—l.11, B: *reciperent*, sed Bo. ex Gl. recte: *susciperet*. Jam An: (p. 12, n. 4.) Cod: *reciperent*, sed deinde *collocaret*.

C. 39, P. 36, l.15, ex Gl. substitui *Erfordiam* pro B: *Erfordie*.—l.16, Bo. ex Gl. addit (*et*) tempus.

C. 40, P. 36, l.21, Cum Bo. ex Gl. supplevi: (*cum*) fratre Jordano.—Bo: *Jordane*.—l.27, B. et Vo: *Gernocus*. An., ad locum, (p. 13, n. 2.) "Ed. 1. *Gernocus*, sed potius legendum esse *Gernotus* jam Voigt suspicatus est. *In codice plerumque litterae t et c eodem modo scribuntur*."—l.27, Cum Bo: ex Gl. substitui *Suevus* pro B., Vo., An: Sueviae.—P. 37, l.1, B., Vo., An: *Jo— de Colonia*. Secutus sum Bo. qui habet: Jo(hannes).—l.2, B: *Hildn;* An: *Hilden;* Bo: *Hildenseim*.

C. 41, P. 37, l.20, B: *si* pro *fratri*.

C. 42, P. 38, l.1, B: fratres 2; Vo: fratres 2; An: fratres *duo;* Bo: ex Gl. recte substituit: 2(5) *annis*.—l.2, B: *auevis* pro *quevis*.

C. 43, P. 38, l.10, Vo: *habitaverunt*.—P. 39, l.4, *claustra;* An., idem.—l.5, B: *tantum;* Vo: *tamen*.

C. 44, P. 39, l.8, Bo. ex Gl: eodem (*quoque anno*); An. et Vo: (*anno*).—l.20, Gl. addit: *et usque hodie ibi manent*.

C. 45, P. 40, l.1, *laici* ex margine B.—B: *sunt* missi (superscriptio.)—l.12, post *locati* Gl. addit: *laici enim fratres sine assistentia fratrum clericorum fructum in populo minime facere possunt*.—l.18, Vo: in *ipsam*, contra cod. (An. P. 14, n. 2).

C. 47, P. 42, l.4, Vo: Ipse *non* est custos; sed recte, in adnotatione, suggerit lectionem: *Ipse est, est custos noster*. (P. 537, n. 103).—l.9, An: *Erfordiensem*, vide postea, l.16, *Erfordiam*.

C. 48, P. 42, l.24, B: episcopus *archiepiscopus*.—P. 43, l.8, cum Bo. supplevi (*quod*) instabat. (Bo: *cf. Gl: synodum quae instabat*).—l.10, Vo. et An: (*mitteretur*). Cum Bo. supplevi ex Gl: (*accederent*).—l.18, B., Vo., Bo: *sompnis;* An: *somnis;* conjeci: *somniis*.

C. 49, P. 44, l.1, Vo: *supplicaverunt*, ex Wadding; An: idem. sine mentione fontis; Bo: *supplicaverunt*, ex Gl.—An: *Erfordiensem*.—l.14, Vo. et An: *se in officiis omnibus insufficientem*. Jam Voigt ex Wadding suggessit: *seque modis omnibus*.—l.24, super *ejus*.—l.24-25, Vo: *obedientiam;* sed An: *obedientia* ex B.

C. 50, P. 45, l.13, Vo. et An: *desideravit.*—l.13, Vo. et An., omittunt (*supradicta*) quod cum Bo. supplevi ex Gl.—l.25, Bo. supplet ex Gl. et (*eos*).—P. 46, l.2, Bo. supplet ex Gl: ministris (*et custodibus.*)

C. 51, P. 46, l.9 -14, Bo. ex Gl. supplet: In quo *capitulo* (frater *Nicolaus a custodia Saxoniae absolutus vicarius est institutus et ei frater Leonardus Lombardus successit. Sicque rebus ordinatis frater Albertus cum fratribus quos elegerat ad generale capitulum profectus est. In quo capitulo*), et in apparatu critico: *B. novan paginam incipiens totam sententiam omisit, voce* capituli *seductus.*—l.15, B: *dnm.* = dominum; Vo. om. *dominum* corruptelam suspicatus ut dicunt An. P. 16, n. 2.

C. 53, P. 47, l.8, Bo. supplet ex Gl.: (*statim*) indixit.—l.10–11, Bo: (*sed propter causam sequenti anno fuit celebratum*). Addit ad hunc locum: (app. cr. n. c.) "Ita Gl., B. iterum unam lineam omisisse mihi videtur;" et ad verbum *causam:* "deest unum verbum uti *urgentem* aut *necessariam.*" Retinui additionem.

C. 54, P. 48, l.4, B: *denuncciata.*

C. 55, P. 48, l.14, B: *voluntatem;* Vo. ex Wadding: *novitatem;* An. idem, sine mentione fontis; Bo. ex Gl: *novitatem.*—l.17, Bo: (*ab*)usum (*equitandi*) ex Gl. et Chron. Anonym., sed erronee, ut videre est in Introd.—l.19, Bo. ex Gl: (*secundario*) factus. —P. 49, l.2, B: post *Lothoringiam* sequitur *recepit* deletum.

C. 57, P. 49, l. 11, Vo. et An: capitulum *Theutonorum.*—l.19, Vo. et An: *in eodem generali* (*capitulo*).—l.20, Vo: in *duas;* An: *duas;* Bo: *duos,* quod errorem typographicum arbitror.—l.22, B: *Theutoniam* pro *Saxoniam,* quod jam Vo. et An. correxerunt; Bo. ex Gl. *Saxoniam*—l.22, B: *provincie;* Vo: idem; An: *provinciae;* Bo. ex Gl: *provinciis.*

C. 58, P. 50, l.4, Bo. addit ex Gl: in Wormatia (*celebratum*).—l.11, Bo. addit ex Gl: (*Ottonis*) ministri.—l.19, B., Vo., An: pro *lectore Anglicum.*

C. 59, P. 51, l.2, (omnia referunt ad versionem Jordani) K: *ipsi* in. —l.5, B., Vo. et An: *venerunt;* Bo. ex K. et Gl: *convenerunt.* —l.15, *ipsis* addit K.—l.10, B: Jordanus *stupendus;* Cum Bo. ex K. et Gl: *stupidus.*—l.18, B: *mei.*—l.30, Cum Bo. addo ex K: in praesenti (*vita*). Wadding habet in praesenti *carne,* ut jam notavit Vo. (P. 544, nota 136).

C. 60, P. 54, l.2, B. omittit (*Johanne*) Anglico. Jam Vo. ex Wadding supplevit *Johanne* (P. 544, n. 139).—l.3, Cum Bo. ex K. et Gl: *conducerent*, pro B., Vo., et An: *conduceret.*

C. 61, P. 55, l.1, B: *habuit;* Cum Bo. ex K. et Gl: *habuerant;*—l.3, B. et K: *fuerat;* Cum Bo. ex Gl: *fuerant.*—Bo. puto ex B: Allexander; cum Bo. ex K. et Gl. addo: (*de Ales*).

C. 62, P. 55, l.12, Vo: suo *convenienter* proposito; An: suo *convenientes* proposito *destinavit.*

C. 63, P. 56, l.4, K: *exacti* sunt; Ko: *conati* sunt; secutus sum Bo: *coacti* sunt.—l.5, B: *videretur;* jam Vo. conjecit: *juberetur*, quod cum Bo. ex Gl. substitui.—l.12, Cum Bo. ex K. et Gl. (*per vos*) habundamus; (Ita K.)—l.15, B: *exhylaratus;* K: *exhileratus;* An: *exhilaratus.*—l.16, B. et K: *venissent;* Bo. ex Gl: *venissent.*—l.17, K: *quot.*—l.25, Vo: *nec* manum, refragante Cod. (An. P. 19, n. 2.)—Hic desinit Codex B.

C. 64, P. 57, l.5, K: *deceptationem*, cum Bo. substitui *disceptationem.* Forsan: *decertationem.*—l.6, K: *deceptate;* cum Bo. ex Gl. et Ko: *disceptate.* Vox *deceptandi* vel *deceptationis* nullibi, nec in Ducange inveniri potest.

C. 65, P. 57, l.18, Le. ex K: *quot* dictum est; Ko: *ut* dictum.—P. 58, l.1, cum Bo. supplevi ex Gl: (*et*) quedam.

C. 66, P. 58, l.6, Le: *fr.* Helias.

C. 68, P. 58, l.1, Le: *fr.* Johannes, et ita semper quando occurrit verbum "*frater.*"—P. 59, l.1, Bo. et Le. ex K: *quot.*—l.3, Bo. ex Gl. supplet: (*ipse*) institutionem.

C. 69, P. 59, l.8, K: *bonus* benignus; Bo. et Le. ex Gl: *bonis.*—l.9, Bo. ex Gl. supplet *exstitit.*—l.11, Bo: *in qua etiam et minister electus est.* Ego ut Le.—l.14–17, Bo. addit ex Gl: (*Tenuit tamen tria capitula antequam absolutus fuit, videlicet in Erfordia, Hyldenssheim et in Aldenburch in. quo fuit absolutus*).

C. 70, P. 60, l.1, Bo. in apparatu, a: *Hyamo* in margine corr. *Haymo* K.

C. 72, P. 60, l.13, K: *bonus.*

C. 73, P. 60, l.19, K. et Le: *Romam;* Bo: *Romanum.*—l.20, K: *tuseuntes.*—P. 61, l.3, K: *a'oqui* corr: aliqui.—l.4, K. et Le: *obedientes;* Bo: *obedienter* .—l.4, K: *mater;* cum Bo. ex Gl. substitui: *matri* quod et Le.

C. 75, P. 61, l. 10, K: *Ludonensi;* Gl: *Lugdunensi.*—l. 11, Bo. ex Gl. addit Conradus (*de Brunswic*);—l.13, K: *Hallesi.*

C. 76, P. 62, l.1, ante Lugdunensi in K: *de* deletum.—eadem linea, K: *Crenscius.*—l.2, K: *ipso.*—l.3, K: *der Perma.*

C. 78, P. 62, l.10, Bo. ex Gl. addit Conradus (de Brunswic) ex Gl.—l.12, Bo. ex Gl. (*quondam*) minister.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I. General Works.

Catholic Encyclopedia. New York. The Robert Appleton Co. 1907–1912.

Ducange, Ch. DuFresne. Glossarium Ad Scriptores Mediae Et Infimae Latinitatis. III vols.
Lutetiae Parisiorum, Typis Gabrielis Martini. MDCLXXVIII.

Graese-Benedict. Orbis Latinus, oder Verzeichniss der wichtigsten lateinischen Orts- und Ländernamen. 2. Aufl. Berlin, Richard Karl Schmidt u. Co. 1909.

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Editus Auctoritate et Consilio Academiarum Quinque Germanicarum. Leipzig, Teubner'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1900–1915.

Totius Latinitatis Lexicon, Consilio et Cura Jacobi Facciolati, Opera et Studio Aegidii Forcellini Seminarii Patavini Lucubratum. Secundum Editionem Tertiam Cujus Curam Gessit Josephus Furlanetto. Editio In Germania Prima. Schneebergae, Sumptibus et Typis C. Schumanni, et Lipsiae, Sumptibus Ch. E. Kollmanni. MDCCCXXXI–MDCCCXXXIX.

Nizolli, Marius. Lexicon Ciceronianum Ex Recensione Alexandri Scotti. Patavii, Typis Seminarii. MDCCXXXIV.

Spelmannus, Henricus. Glossarium Archaiologicum, Continens Latino-Barbara. Auctore Henrico Spelmanno, Equite Anglo-Britanno. Londini, Apud Aliciam Warren. MDCLXIV.

Wetzer und Welte. Kirchenlexikon. Freiburg i. Br. Herder'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1882–1903.

II. History of the Order and Works Relating Thereto.

Acta Ordinis Minorum Vel Ad Ordinem Quoquo Modo Pertinentia. 35 vols. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1882–1917.

Acta Sanctorum (Bollandistae) Octobris Tomus Secundus. Parisiis et Romae. Apud Victorem Palmé. 1866.

Analecta Bollandiana T. XXVIII. Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes. 1909.

Analecta Franciscana Sive Chronica Aliaque Documenta ad Historiam Fratrum Minorum Spectantia. Edita a Patribus Collegii S. Bonaventurae. 5 vols. Ad Claras Aquas, (Quaracchi) MDCCCLXXXV–MCMXII.

Annales Minorum, Seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum. Editio Secunda Locupletior et Accuratior. Opera P. Joseph U. Fonseca. 25 vols. MDCCXXXI–MDCCCLXXXVI.

Annalium Minorum Supplementum. Ab Adm. Rev. P. Antonio Melissano de Macro. Augustae Taurinorum, Jacobus Gringhelli. MDCCX.

Archivum Franciscanum Historicum. 8 vols. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1908–1915.

Archiv für österreichische Geschichte. Herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vol. XLIX. Wien, Karl Gerold's Sohn. 1872.

Boehmer, H. Chronica Fratris Jordani. (In Collection d'Études (et de Documents sur l'Histoire Religieuse et Littéraire du Moyen Âge, T. VI). Paris, Librairie Fischbacher. 1908.

Bonaventurae, Doctoris Seraphici, S.R.E. Cardinalis Episcopi. Opera Omnia. Studio et Cura PP. Coll. S. Bonav. Edita. 11 vols. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) MDCCCLXXXII–MCMI.

Carey, Lucas, O.F.M. Chronica Anonyma Fratrum Minorum in Germania. In Anal. Franc. vol. I. Quaracchi, Coll. S. Bonav. 1885.

Cavanna, P. Niccola, O.F.M. L'Umbria Francescana Illustrata. Perugia, Unione Tip. Cooperativa. MCMX.

Chronica XXIV Generalium. In Anal. Franc. Vol. 3. Quaracchi. 1897.

Chronicon XIV vel XV Generalium Ordinis Minorum seu Catalogus "Gonsalvinus." In Anal. Franc. Vol. 3, 1897. (Also in Holder-Egger's Chronica Salimbene). Quaracchi, 1897.

Franziskanische Studien, Quartalschrift, Vols. 1–3, 1914–1916.

Glassberger, Fr. Nicolaus. Chronica. (In Anal. Francisc. Vol. 2.) Quaracchi. 1887.

Golubovich, P. Girolamo, O.F.M. Biblioteca Bio-Bibliographica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano. Tomo Primo. 1215–1300. Quaracchi, Coll. S. Bonav. 1906.

Gonzaga, Fr. Franciscus, O.F.M. De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae Ejusque Progressibus. Romae, Ex Typographia Dominici Basae. MDLXXXVII.

Greiderer, P. F. Vigilius. Ord. Min. Ref. Prov. Tyrolensis. Germania Franciscana, seu Chronicon Geographico-Historicum Ordinis S. Francisci in Germania. Tomus Primus. Oeniponte. Typis Joannis Thomae Nobilis de Trattnern. MDCCLXXVII.

Holzapfel, P. Dr. Heribert, O.F.M. Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens. Freiburg i. Br., Herder'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1909.

Hueber, P. Fortunatus, O.F.M. Menologium ab Initio Minoritici Instituti usque ad Moderna Tempora. Monachii, Typis Joannis Lucae Straubii. MDCLXXXXVIII.

Kreslinger, Fr. Massaeus, O.F.M. Ortus et Progressus Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Minorum S. P. N. Francisci. Claudiopoli, Typis Acad. S. J., per Michaelem Becskerek. 1731.

Lemmens, Ff. Leonardus, O.F.M. Fragmenta Minora. Romae, Typis Sallustianis. 1903.

Lemmens, Fr. Leonardus, O.F.M. Scripta Fratris Leonis, Socii Sancti Francisci. Quaracchi, Coll. S. Bonav., 1901.

Lemmens, Fr. Leonardus, O.F.M. Dialogus de Vitis Fratrum Minorum, Scriptus Circa 1245. Nunc Primum Edidit. Romae, Typis Sallustiansis. 1902.

Mattaeus Parisiensis. Cronica Majora. In Monumenta Germaniae Historica, T. XXVIII.

Mazzara, Fr. Benedetto, O.F.M. Leggendario Francescano. 12 vols. In Venetia, Per Dominico Lovisa. MDCCXXI–MDCCXXII.

Monumenta Germaniae Historica, T. Scriptorum XVII, XXVIII, XXXII. Hannoverae, Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani. MDCCCLXXXVIII–MDCCCXIII.

Monumenta Poloniae Historica, (Pomniki Dziejowe Polski) Tom. V. Lwów, w Komisie Ksiegarni Gubroynowicza i Schmidta. 1888.

O'Shea, Rev. Joseph A., O.S.F. The Life of Father Luke Wadding, Founder of St. Isidore's College in Rome. Dublin, M. H. Gill and Son. 1885

Pisa, Fr. Bartholomaeus de, O.F.M. De Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci Ad Vitam Domini Jesu. (In Anal. Franc. Vol. 4 and 5.) Quaracchi, Coll. S. Bonav. MCMVI.

Sabatier, Paul. Vie de S. François d'Assise. (Dix-Huitième Edition). Paris, Librairie Fischbacher. 1896.

Sabatier, Paul. Life of St. Francis of Assisi. Translated by Louise Seymour Houghton. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899.

Sabatier, Paul. Speculum Perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis Legenda Antiquissima. Auctore Fratre Leone. Paris, Librairie Fischbacher. 1898.

Sabatier, Paul, and others. Franciscan Essays. Aberdeen, University Press. 1912.

Schlager, Patritius, O.F.M. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kölnischen Franziskanerprovinz im Mittelalter. Köln, J. P. Bachem. 1904.

Salimbene de Adam, O.F.M. Chronica, Edidit Holder-Egger in Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hannoverae et Lipsiae, Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani. 1905–1913.

Sbaralea, Fr. Jo. Hyacinthus. Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci. Romae, Editore Nardeschi. MCMVIII.

Tamassia, Nino. St. Francis of Assisi and His Legend. Translated from the Italian by Lonsdale Ragg. London, T. Fisher Unwin. MCMX.

Voigt, Georg. Die Denkwürdigkeiten der Minoriten Jordanus von Giano. In: Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Zwölfter Band. Leipzig, S. Hirzel. 1870.

Wadding, Fr. Lucas, O.F.M. Annales Minorum, seu Trium Ordinum a Sancto Francisco Institutorum. Editio Secunda Locupletior et Accuratior. Opera et Studio P. Josephi. 25 vols. At Various Places. MDCCXXXI–MDCCCLXXXVI.

Wadding, Fr. Lucas, O.F.M. Scriptores Ordinis Minorum Quibus Accessit Syllabus Illorum Qui ex Eodem Ordine Pro Fide Christi Fortiter Occubuerunt. Editio Novissima. Romae, Editore Doctore Attilio Nardecchia. MCMVI.

Wadding, Fr. Lucas, O.F.M. Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci. Opus Posthumum Fr. Jo. Hyacinthi Sbaralea, O.M.Conv. Romae, Editore Doct. Attilio Nardecchia. MCMVII.

Zeisberg, Heinrich. Johannes de Komerowo. Tractatus Chronicae. Wien, Karl Gerold's Sohn. 1872.

VITA.

The writer of this dissertation was born in Bonn, Rhine-Prussia, July 16, 1881. He received his primary education at the public schools of his native city and subsequently took a course of studies at the commercial school conducted under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce of the same city (1895-1898). In 1899 he began his classical studies under private instructors and completed these studies at St. Francis Seraphicus College, Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1901. In the same year he entered the Order of Friars Minor and followed the courses in Philosophy and Theology in the houses of study of his Order from 1901-1909. From 1909-1912 he taught the Classics at St. Francis College in Cincinnati and from 1914-1917 at the College of the Holy Land in Washington, D. C. He has been a graduate student at the Catholic University of America since 1914 under Dr. Maguire, Dr. Gleis and Dr. O'Connor.

15565

277.308
C17

AUTHOR
Auweiler

TITLE
Chronica Fratris